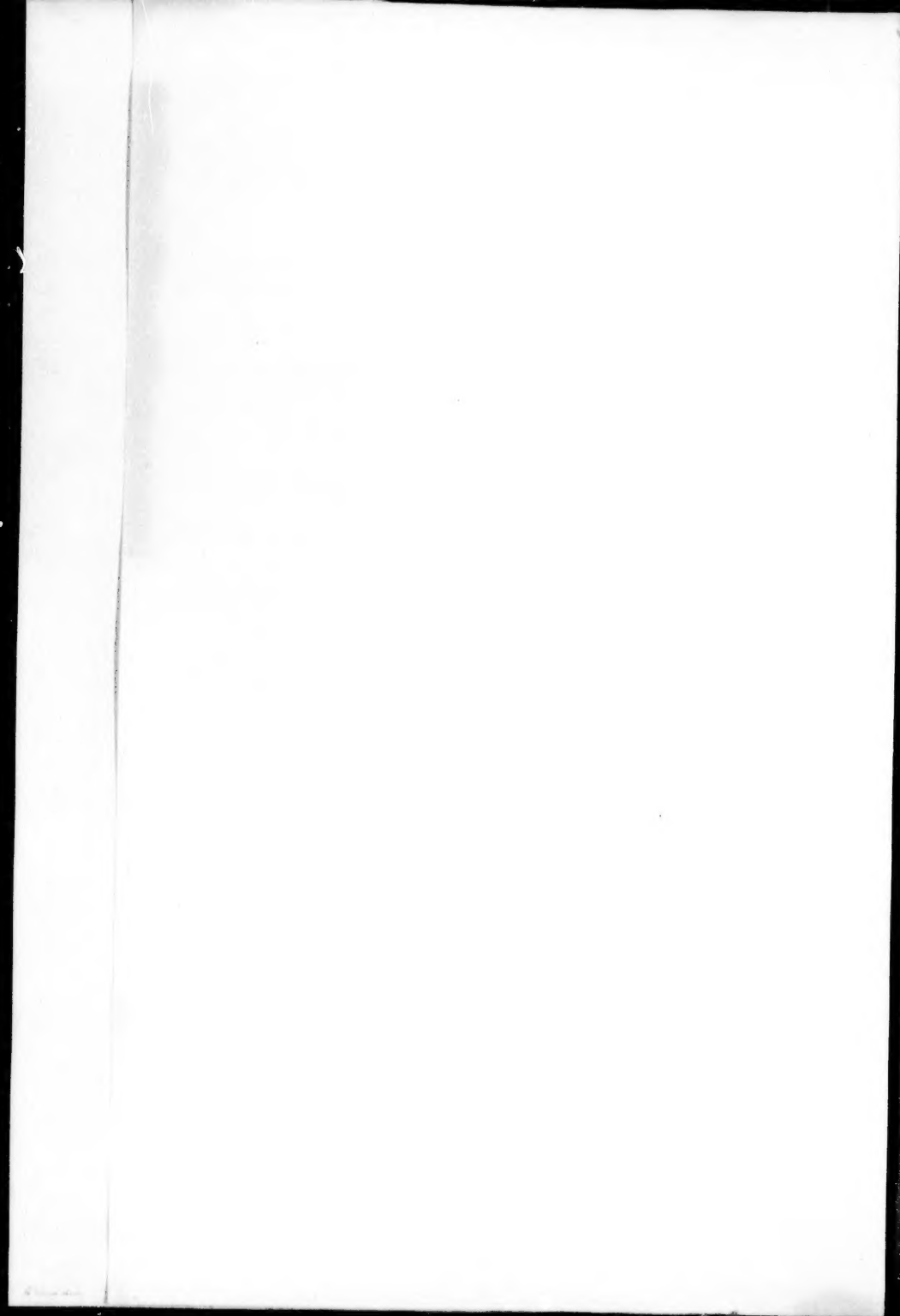




ITS HISTORY

Settlement of Oregon

AND THE

INTERIOR OF UPPER CALIFORNIA

AND OF

Preservation and Collection of Early Manuscripts

EDITED BY THE AUTHOR

HALL J. KELLEY, A. M.

BOSTON, MASS.

FRANKLIN TRUST CO.

1901



A
HISTORY
OF THE
Settlement of Oregon
AND THE
INTERIOR OF UPPER CALIFORNIA;
AND OF
Persecutions and Afflictions of Forty Years' Continuance,
ENDURED BY THE AUTHOR,
HALL J. KELLEY, A. M.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS:
UNION PRINTING COMPANY.
1868.

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PREFACE.

THIS book is an appeal to the justice and humanity of the Christian public for *help* to put an end to persecutions endured for more than forty years, as terrible as were ever known; and to bring back to my bleeding bosom my beloved household, which, more than fifteen years ago, were torn from it and carried far away from me, by the merciless hands of bloody men; and to bring back kindred and friends, long ago turned from and against me.

It has in view other objects:—to verify and illustrate the statements of the Petition now before Congress; to correct the belied histories of the American and British domains beyond the Rocky Mountains—countries which, until after the public announcement of my Oregon Enterprise, were marked on maps *unknown*; and to remove unreasonable prejudices, and the false perceptions which friends everywhere have of me, and the obstacles which enemies in all places have thrown in the pathway of my usefulness. Its dictation was commenced more than two years ago; but vexations and troubles on every side, and of every kind, by those that hate me, to prevent the publication of the book and action on the petition; the inattention and carelessness of some of my youthful amanuenses, and to the vile pen of one of riper years—the first who wrote after the loss of my eyesight—are some of the causes of its delay. The difficulties I experience in its dictation are another cause.

On the 15th page of the book is described, in part, the nature of my dire calamity, and how difficult it has been, for the last thirty years, to converse or to perform with the pen. The last two years, adversaries, at and about the place of my abode, have very much troubled me. The troops at this place have come daily to *vex* and to *torture*, hoping speedily to make an end of me; guerrillas, headed by one of my bitterest enemies—at times,

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another with him—both were, as it regarded their conduct toward me, much like despots and demons. Within the last thirty years, until the two last, since beginning to write histories of countries explored by me, and to prepare accounts of my scientific researches in the far west, and of my efforts to propagate Christianity about the shores of the Pacific,* and of the war of persecutions so long ago waged against me, they have often come to plunder my property—have plundered, and carried off, the value of several thousand dollars; and to devastate my estate; and have so done; and have desolated the village of Three Rivers, so that it now is, and has been for several years, a desolation, “a heap.” They at times break into my house, and take away documents and manuscripts and papers of great value to me, such as furnish the best material for the book; perhaps, within this period, what of the last would make a 4to. volume of a thousand pages. These are vexatious; they confuse the head and unfit for dictation.

This Preface is in part to explain concerning inadvertent expressions, digressions, curtailed statements, sayings, and the abridgment of the book, and errors of composition with which it abounds. It is but seldom that I can find a person able and ready to write; at times the amanuensis is turned from me. For weeks, or months, no one can be found to serve me; and I am left without help. Portions of the manuscript prepared for the press, and supposed to have been sent to it, are wanting in the book. This mistake is owing in part, I think, to the inattention of some of the young and inexperienced amanuenses. These things have caused *delay*, and they are strong indications of a terrible persecution. At times, sitting down to write, my thoughts are so disturbed by some mockery or abuse, just at the time, as to induce a dismissal of the subject; and a reference to the Appendix. On page 124, mention is made of having had visions, but owing to mental excitement or nervous irritation at the time, I was unable to explain about them, but will, in the Appendix, tell all about them.

* In the year 1840, the author issued a prospectus of a book, in near readiness for the press, entitled, “Travels and Voyages through many of the Indian and Unexplored Countries of North America; and over the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, made in the years 1832, '33, '34 and '35.”

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 ix, tell all about

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 e Oceans, made in the

In order to be fully understood, I should have spoken of unmis-
 takable signs which immediately followed. Being in haste to get
 the book in print and before Congress, the subject was passed
 over. So it was with me when speaking of Bonaparte's wars. In
 order that my meaning should be fully understood, something
 more should have been said concerning the defeats of the man of
 sin, and of the triumphs of Christ. Though He is the Prince of
 Peace, and the Prince of the Kings of the earth, yet is He "a man
 of war," triumphant in every conflict; victorious in every battle;
 who "leadeth captivity captive, and maketh the wrath of man to
 praise him;" and so also on p. , in speaking of merciful inter-
 positions of Divine Providence, such as deliverance from the jaws
 of wild beasts, stings of scorpions and fangs of serpents; being
 in haste to reach the end of the book, particulars were omitted to
 be given.

When the nefarious plans and plottings and murderous purpose
 of the conspiracy at Three Rivers—one as diabolical as was ever
 known in Christendom—*conspiracy*, I say, *diabolical*, with em-
 phasis I repeat, have been described, and the public understand
 about them, then will persecutions cease, and the deep-rooted
 prejudices on the minds of men will be removed, public confidence
 in my statements and character be restored, my household and my
 kindred, so long gone from me, will return, and all, I trust, will
 treat me with respect and visit me in my "afflictions." In telling
 about the conspiracy, it is not my intention to designate persons,
 unless hard provoked to it, nor specify as to conduct, cruel as it
 has been, further than it shall be duty in the vindication of myself
 and for the glory of God. To confuse my head and delay my
 writings, I am everywhere represented as stupid, an idler, and
 prodigal of my means of living. But I am certain that neither
 my *great calamity*, nor the persecutions and afflictions I am made
 to endure, have in the slightest degree impaired my understand-
 ing; it was never better than at the present day. And diligent
 search of the Scriptures, the last thirty years, to know God, and
 to know Christ, "the way, the truth, and the life," has much
 enlarged my comprehension of things human and divine. I am
 certain also, that industry, frugality, temperance, benevolence,
 intense purpose, brotherly kindness and charity have all along
 marked my career. I do not thus speak of myself to glorify
 self; but to glorify Him whose servant I am.

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* That portion of the narrative from the time of leaving Gaudlaxara to that of arriving at San Diego, owing either to mistake or inadvertence, or loss of manuscript by those who would delay or prevent dictation, is wanting. It will be given in the Appendix.

† Mr. Green was Secretary to the American Board of Foreign Missions, Boston.

Boston, December 23, 1847.

Sixteen or twenty years ago, Hall J. Kelley, Esq. was accustomed often to call at my office, to converse on his plans and measures for awakening interest in, and ultimately settling the Oregon country. He was actively and very constantly

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engage^d as I supposed, in efforts, by means of extensive personal intercourse, by newspaper articles, and by circulars and pamphlets, to disseminate intelligence relating to that portion of our continent, then almost wholly unknown to the mass of our population. He continued this course of labor for many years; and with more or less constancy, he has had the subject before his mind, up to the present time.

The welfare and improvement of the Indians in that Territory, and the introduction, there, of the blessings of civilization and the useful arts, with education and christian knowledge, seemed to be his leading object. Much of the early interest felt in the Oregon country by New England people, was probably the result of Mr. Kelley's labors.

DAVID GREEN.

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SUPPLEMENT
TO THE
"NARRATIVE OF THE EVENTS AND DIFFICULTIES
IN THE
COLONIZATION OF OREGON
AND THE
SETTLEMENT OF CALIFORNIA;"
AND
An Account of Persecutions and Afflictions endured between the Years
1824 and 1867, by the Writer.

BY HALL J. KELLEY, A. M.

CHAPTER I.

[* Nar. E. D., pp. 68, 69.] The two first chapters of this book are preliminary to the chapters following, and prefatory to the verifying and illustrating document to be used with the petition now in Congress, praying for a grant of land, or a donation of money, for the purpose of canceling debts contracted while prosecuting the work of the colonization of Oregon, and to provide himself with things comfortable. The petitioner has objects in view. He would appropriate a part of what Congress would allow him, for educational purposes in the land of the freedmen, and a part for the founding of a benevolent institution in the manufacturing village of Three Rivers, to be called "The Widow's and Orphan's Home."

Quite half a century has elapsed since the conception of [†11] my *Oregon* enterprise—the opening of the wilderness beyond the Rocky Mountains to the blessings of christianity. A stupendous undertaking it was, contemplating the

* Narrative of Events and Difficulties.

† Numeral corresponding with the numeral in the margin of the Petition.

highest good to mankind; although thirty years have rolled away since its achievement, and yet my countrymen seem to know nothing about it—and why? This question I shall shortly answer.

Any personal advantage to be derived from founding the first settlement on the American shores of the Pacific, is wholly and justly claimed by me. It was an undertaking fraught with great discouragements and difficulties, and was attended with great expense. It required for its accomplishment much fortitude and perseverance, besides such sacrifices of time and property which none, within my knowledge, seemed willing to make. [Nar. E. D., p. 68.] It engaged my attention through the best part of my life; and absorbed a large estate of my own earnings. To say that I was the *first* to plan, and the *principal* to execute, is not saying enough. As the *only* pioneer, without a single coadjutor, and under extraordinary circumstances of hardships and exposures, and in spite of the plans and intrigues of the most powerful men, and associations of men in the world, I achieved the work. I fought alone a troop of these men, who were actuated only by the price to them paid; while I served without price, or earthly emolument.

I shall be somewhat particular in detailing events concerning the enterprise, and the conduct of those who opposed it. I desire my countrymen should know how much I have expended in time and property; and what I have suffered to settle Oregon, and to make it an integral portion of my country's domain. I have truly paid from my substance, and from the comforts and endearments of life, a great price for that land, though a goodly one it is, and have freely possessed the nation of it. Were my countrymen fully apprised of all the facts in the case, they would no longer turn a deaf ear to the wrongs I have suffered, and the rights of which I have been defrauded, as they have done for the last thirty years; but, would at once return to me all, and even more than I claim; both as a recompense for my services, and as a testimonial of their gratitude for the countless blessings, those services have rendered and are rendering to the country. [Nar. E. D., pp. 51, 52.]

That undertaking was indeed *stupendous*; its objects philanthropic in purpose—I declare it. As to its results,

they are seen in the improved aspect of the regions about the American and Asiatic shores of the Pacific and islands of the sea, and in the great moral movements of the friends of man, making those lands beautiful and the people blessed. The knowledge and glory of God now fast spreading over that dark portion of the earth, tells of them.

With the explanations I will be able to make, the reader can more understandingly form opinions of my capabilities and usefulness, and of the *contempt* so universally cast upon me, [Nar. E. D., 86, 14.] ; and can better judge of the suffering condition to which persecutions and afflictions, endured for nearly half a century, have reduced me—such as are, probably, without a parallel in the present age of the world. They have, indeed, reduced me to a very suffering condition—such as men, looking at external appearances only, and incapable of discerning things spiritual, would think indescribably deplorable—but I am not “distressed”—*have never been “distressed”*—I rejoice, rather than grieve, that I am made a partaker in the sufferings of Christ.

To turn away enemies, to gather again the beloved ones of my household, so cruelly torn from my bosom ; to remove pecuniary embarrassments and the obstructions thrown into the pathway of my usefulness, and to make things more convenient and comfortable the remainder of life, are embraced in the objects of the Petition. Could these be brought about, I might hope, under the divine blessing, for an entire amelioration of my pitiable condition.

It is strange that the enemy, so numerous and powerful, pursuing me so hard up, for forty years, daily practicing upon me every wrong and outrage, should not have, years ago, utterly destroyed me. Why did they not? Christ Jesus would not let them.

They were suffered only to vex the outward man and wrong the spirit, but had no power to kill the body. I will state some of the cruelties practiced upon me ; (should be glad to remain silent, but they are persistent, and I am still the victim of their merciless power.) I will state such as will be most likely to enlighten the public mind, and remove those inveterate and cruel prejudices which have so long prevented the return of friends and

acquaintances gone from me, and so much hindered usefulness.

[Nar. E. D., p. 69.] The Scriptures say: "All who will live godly in Christ Jesus, shall suffer persecution." "The world," saith Jesus, "hateth me, because I testify against it, that the ways thereof are evil." "By suffering ye are made perfect." Persecutions and afflictions are the rods which have whipped me into the valley of humiliation, where I delight to be.

I have testified against the powerful worldlings belonging to the British and American Fur Companies, and the East India merchants doing business on the N. W. Coast; and so testifying, have incurred the implacable hatred of those men. [Nar. E. D., pp. 76, 51.] Their policy then, as now, was to represent me as *stupid*, *ignorant* and *crazy*. The friends of my late bosom companion, prior to my visit to Oregon—to turn from, and against me, the loved ones of my household, called me an *idler* and a *spendthrift*—[Nar. E. D., p. 45.]; as one spending his time foolishly, and "his money for that which is naught," and as having neither *mind* nor *means* to do anything.

I do not believe these evil sayings of my enemies. I am not, nor have I ever been, an *ignorant* or *crazy* man, an *idler* or an *idle schemer*. My works, and the fruit of the spirit, testify to what I am. I do believe that I have as much as an ordinary understanding. I have at the present, now in old age, when "waxen in decay," as much as when, fifty years ago, [Nar. E. D., p. 73,] I conceived and planned the settlement of Oregon, as when, thirty-five or forty years ago, I planned so largely for internal improvements and the founding of benevolent institutions, and, as when the wise and prudent about me were wont to say of me, "He is living thirty years in advance of the times."

About forty years ago, I attempted the founding of an institution, to be called, "*Massachusetts Mechanical and Agricultural College*." The subject was two years before the legislature. The Committee on Education said to me, that if I would raise a fund of \$10,000, the State would give \$10,000 more. A munificent individual of Charlestown proposed to subscribe \$2,000; myself would give a portion of my estate in that town. Here, the Oregon enter-

prise calling for my whole attention and time, the project was abandoned. The State of Massachusetts, within a few years, has founded, an institution at Northampton, the same in plan and purpose as mine.

Now, reader, does not this look as though I was indeed living *thirty years* in advance of the times?

Stupid.—stupid as they are pleased to represent me, I have intellect enough to discriminate between friends and foes; to judge, and that justly, of the good feelings and the merciful regards of the one, and of the wicked devices of the other. It is true, the ken of the greatest understanding can penetrate but a little way the mind of the wise, to know its secrets; yet one of ordinary acuteness can penetrate through that of my worse than stupid defamers. As stupid as I am, I can discern the intents and purposes of those seeking to deprive me of my good name, of my earthly substance, and of the comforts and endearments of my life.

No means or mind to do any thing.—It was so stated in the City of New York, in the hearing of a multitude of persons. It has often been repeated in other places; and in the hearing of public men, implying that I had done nothing towards settling Oregon. I pronounce this a consummate falsehood, uttered with a malicious design.

I have on some previous page truly said; the conception was mine. The sacrifices were mine, great as they were. The achievement was mine, without mortal help; virtually made, before I left this for that side of the continent. The enduring over forty years of a merciless persecution, has been, alone mine.

Mean and misanthropic men picked my pocket; and deceiving tongues induced the benevolent to withhold their munificent proffers, and their help. What of that? My means for carrying civilization and the knowledge of God into Oregon, chiefly came from the inexhaustible store-house of heaven. The Almighty God, the Creator of all things, hath said, in reference to human undertakings, whose objects are his glory, "Not by might, nor by power, but by my spirit."

I have said much concerning self, and now find it indispensable to say more. With as little self-esteem as self-respect, I shall be able to describe the powers and qualitiet of my mind; and to satisfy, that it is not strictly true, that

I am "without mind to do anything." For natural endowments, I have nothing to boast of: yet, the operations of my mind, I think, indicate *sanity*, and such gifts as elevate character, as high above the characters of my groveling enemies, as the clouds are above the ground.

It is due chiefly to early parental instruction and training, that my mind is what it is. Blessed with intelligent and pious parents, who led me in early youth to fear God, I came into active life *serious minded*; and much inclined to consider my ways, and to seek to know what could make me useful and happy. Before the years of manhood, I resolved on a fearless obedience to the divine commands; and to the present, I have continued to desire and pray for *understanding* and *skill*, and for the possession of capabilities and subs^tance to bless the suffering mortals about me.

There is nothing like the godly instructions and virtuous examples of a mother. She can better mould the mind for pure motives and generous actions; and can better guard against evil propensities, and prevent bad habits in children, than the father or school-teacher. It was a mother who taught me never to take the name of God in vain,—never to be guilty of the sin of insulting the Almighty with the breath he gives. She impressed my mind with a profound and pious reverence for Jehovah, and with a high and solemn veneration for the institutions of Christianity; and so impressed it with the love of truth, that not a single doubt, as to the divine authenticity of the Scriptures, ever profaned the sanctuary of my heart. Her instructions and examples inclined me to be diligent and persevering in business, and faithful and patient in the discharge of duties; to be hospitable and merciful,—when enemies hunger and thirst, to feed them, and give them drink; and to bless them that persecute. Finally, by the grace of God, I hope I have the love for my neighbor, which meets the divine requisition; and am disposed to do all the good in my power for him, and for the country, and mankind in general: and to endure every evil coming upon me, with patience and pious heroism.

I say, therefore, I have mind; and have been measurably useful. Intellectual gifts, purity of motives, benevolent actions, and a spirit of public and high-minded enterprise, have made me so.

CHAPTER II.

I am HALL J. KELLY ; that is my name ; am what education, habits, and the *grace* of God have made me, and have a disposition punctiliously to perform every duty in life. *Stupid, ignorant and crazy* ; I have often been spoken of in this way ; not to my face, but in whisper, and where slander can best succeed in doing its work. These opprobrious appellatives were applied to me in public journals, and from the mouth of calumny, when all devoted to the cause of humanity ; when planning and effecting great and good things for the people of my country. My *projects* were *numerous*, and were such as, with a *clear* head and a *sane* mind, I could well accomplish. I will give a list of some of them. How far they indicate mental imbecility or derangement, the candid, who know about the *founding* of the *settlements* on the American shores of the Pacific, the system of fair and merciful dealing with the Indians of North America, devised by me, and my handy works on both sides of the Continent, at every place of my abode in New England, in the wilderness and on the Island of the sea, all along, from youth to old age, can judge.

I planned for Internal Improvements—a canal from Charles River (Boston) to the Connecticut River, as surveyed by L. Baldwin, and a ship-canal from Barnstable to Buzzard's Bay. As early as 1827, I planned for an expedition of emigrants to Oregon ; to cross in military order, the Rocky Mountains, through the depression, called the South Pass ; the same which Col. Fremont subsequently minutely examined and described to the general Government. My knowledge of that Pass was derived from Maj. Pilcher, an Indian agent. It was described to me as being passable to loaded wagons. So thousands have since found it. It is now the great thoroughfare to Oregon. I am particular in speaking of this route, to show the utter recklessness and falsity of those, who, as I shall have occasion to mention, opposed the enterprise, and that too, from no other motives than the basest cupidity. Men, women and children have traveled this route, finding no "insurmountable difficulties." Cattle have been driven in good condition, the whole length of it, even to

the Wallamet valley. The leaders of the early expeditions adopted my very plan for traveling that route.

The several railroads, such as were supposed to be of public utility, were planned by me. As early as 1849, I projected a railroad between the Valley of the Mississippi and the shores of the Pacific. [Nar. E. D., p. 71.] Reference to that project is made in my Geographical Sketch printed in the above year; and also in my Memorial to Congress in 1839, relative to the statistics and topography of that territory. One branch of that road was to extend from some point in the routes, after the transit of the Rocky Mountains, to the Bay of San Francisco; another branch to terminate at Puget's Sound. In 1837, I surveyed three railroads in the State of Maine; projected maps, and made a printed report of one of them; in 1839, planned for a railroad thoroughfare between the two great Oceans. I conferred with Mr. Mercer, chairman of the committee of the Senate on Railroads and Canals, who said, a report would be made favorable to the enterprise. Such a report was made, and nothing was further done by Congress upon the subject. While exploring the country between Vera Cruz and the City of Mexico, I became satisfied of the feasibility of a railroad route between those two places. I planned and advised for that improvement; I made it a topic of frequent conversation with Mr. Wilcox, the American consul at Mexico, with whom I quartered several weeks, and with other enterprising foreigners. It was one of the subjects of a communication to the President, Santa Anna, describing, what seemed to me would be the utility of railroads in that country; and some better system of common school education in the Mexican Republic.

The consul was an understanding man, and influential. He and others wishing well to Mexico, promised to do what they could to cause the improvement. Shortly after my return to Massachusetts, I had the satisfaction to learn, that the road had been commenced. It does not follow, as a thing in course, that the undertaking originated from any thing I had said; but, there is a possibility; yes, a probability, and some strong indications of such being the fact.

Education.—I improved the system of common school education in my adopted State. The Black Board and the

Monitorial Desk were first introduced into the schools of Boston by me. The late distinguished Joseph Lancaster, was the first to use them. I prepared several elementary school books. The first Sabbath-School book used in New England, was by me. The organization of the Sabbath-Schools, in the same portion of the country, was by me and the late Rev. D. Chessman of Boston. I am the author of the "American Instructor," and also the "Instructor's First Book." They were, as I think, improvements on all the other books of the kind, then extant.

I have not time now to mention the numerous books and documents and newspaper essays pertaining to conceptions, projects, works, and the fruit of the spirit, but will complete the list of them in the course of the narrative.

I say again, to bring me into low repute and to accomplish their nefarious designs, they call me stupid. Stupidity implies a want of mind, a lack of intellectual capacity, that which they would also have the world believe of me. [Nar. E. D., p. 47.] Said the missionaries in Oregon, "Mr. Kelley came to this country with a party of stragglers from California, but had *no mind* or *means* to do any thing." That the reader may know still more of the bloody purpose of my adversaries, how unreasonable and cruel they treat me, I will add to the list of works just given, and further show the endowment of some mind, and the possession of a full ordinary understanding. When "in college," my class was put to the study of astronomy. For the purpose of illustrating, I constructed an Orrery—a machine showing the pathways of the moon round the earth, and the earth round the sun. Lead pencils fixed to the axes of those bodies, and the machine put in motion, their orbits were exactly delineated on paper. It was similar to a figure on one of the plates of Ferguson's Astronomy. My class-mates thought me to have some inventive power and mechanical ingenuity. In my Junior year, a Senior, whose class had been required to calculate and project a certain eclipse of the sun, which would happen far in the future, came to me, saying, if he could be furnished, within twenty-four hours, with an accurate projection of that eclipse, he would give me \$5.00. I promptly complied with his request, and the money was promptly paid, and was very acceptable, being, as I was

at the time, in needy circumstances. He believed me to have intellect enough to illustrate any subject in astronomy, and therefore did he come to me. A year or two prior to my entering college, much was said in the papers in regard to a *perpetual motion*. I went into a workshop determined on knowing the reality of such a motion, spent several days in an attempt to find out the truth about it. After several days of study and mechanical labor, I was enabled to demonstrate its impossibility, and was convinced that no surplus of power above what is required for *temporary motion*, could be gained for overcoming friction and air resistance; that what is gained by one of the mechanical powers is lost by another; that nothing more is possible than to put them into equilibrio.

One of the results of my scientific researches in 1815, was the conception of an improved system of geographical and topographical surveying. It involved principles of Geometry beyond the comprehension of unintellectual and unsophisticated men; quite beyond the reach of those of the mental imbecility, which is so universally, at the present day, ascribed to me. Believing that the principles and plan of the method of land surveying, as suggested by me in some of the public journals in that year, if generally adopted and practiced, would be of great public utility, I presented the system, in 1829, to the consideration of the General Government. Congress was memorialized. The committee to which the subject was referred, for a good and obvious reason, gave the investigation of the subject to General Bernard, then at the head of the corps of civil engineers.

This profound mathematician carefully examined the papers and the formula I had prepared for their illustration, reported an opinion highly creditable to his own talent, liberally estimating the talents of the memorialist. Notwithstanding the system was recommended as being worthy of public adoption, yet nothing was done to bring it into practice. President Jackson promised to adopt it, whenever a book, giving directions for its practice and a proper apparatus, should be prepared. I had described minutely the *apparatus* and the manner of using it, and had begun the *table of deflections* necessary for the book, and this was all my Oregon enterprise afforded me time to do. The

tables might require for their preparation, one or two years' assiduous attention of some learned mathematician.

The present system is unphilosophical and erroneous. Its practice generally results in uncertainties and disappointments. So defective is it, that lines laid out by one surveyor, are seldom found with exact certainty by another, unless by unerring guides of immovable monuments. The system which I propose scarcely admits of an error. It points out an easy and correct mode of running the lines required in the survey. My method has many advantages over that now in practice.

The numerous errors of the compass are entirely avoided. The interests of the land proprietor are better promoted, and the wide door so much open for litigation, which often costs him his freehold, is effectually closed. It is the only simple method by which right lines, having a given course, can be run with precision. It is attended with as much certainty, as the high operation of trigonometrical surveys.

By the present method, all lines, westerly or easterly, (supposed to be right lines,) are really curved; and, if across hills and valleys, are crooked; but if due north or south, they are right lines as by my method, whether the territory be even or uneven. The reason of this is obvious; it is evident that every *straight* or *right* line drawn on the surface of the earth is an *arc* of a great circle. An *arc* of a *less circle* is necessarily either a curved or crooked line. In order clearly to perceive the evils attending the present mode of land surveying, it is necessary to understand the nature of geometrical lines. The courses of lines, not due north or south, or in the plane of the equator, run in the planes of less circles. All *right lines* lie in the *planes* of great circles, and not in those of less circles. Their courses, as indicated by the magnetic needle, coincide with tangents common to both. The surveyor, therefore, on departing from his compass station, as instantaneously diverges from the magnetic course as the circles diverge from their tangents. It is further evident, that every thing used in determining the course of these lines, whether moving or stationary, is in the direction of the radii of a circle whose center is identified with the center of the plane of the equator, the common center of gravitation. To illustrate the subject, let it be required to run

a due west course on the fortieth parallel of north latitude, by means of the compass and perpendicular stations as now practiced in common topographical surveying. If, then, the course is commenced due west, and is continued by such means as will make it straight round the globe, the line so run will cross the equator twice, and terminate at the place of beginning, and will have described a great circle to whose plane that of the parallel to be run, is oblique, and forms with it a vertical angle of forty degrees, which angle is always equal to the latitude of the place. Since, therefore, as has been shown, all right lines only can be traced by perpendiculars to which the planes of less circles are oblique, no less circle or parallel can be traced by the usual method of running lines, without violating the laws of gravitation. (See App. A.) I have been trying all along, on the foregoing pages of this book, to prove myself not to be a *stupid* man, as I am universally reported to be; and I think when I have adduced a little more of the evidence which my handy works can furnish, I shall succeed, and show myself to be endowed in some good measure with *intellectual power*.

No mind nor means to do anything. I had mind enough to do just what I did. Had means to do wonders. Christ Jesus was with me. I performed by the "Spirit of God," and did his will "in the power of *His* might."

Who first accounted for the Indian name of the "Great River of the West," (Oregon,) and applied the same to the country watered by that river? Who ascertained from whence came the Aborigines of North America? [Nar. E. D., p. 20.] Who accounted for the *name*, both of the Indian tribe and the river called *Kilmook*? Who accounted for the name of Mexico? Humboldt did not. Who accounted for the names of many of the places, tribes, of rivers, and animals, on the western side of America? I could wish an answer. But, reader, you can not give it; you have been deceived by lying tongues and by those external appearances of my person which direful calamities and persecutions and afflictions, so long endured, have caused me. [Nar. E. D., pp. 8, 9.] I myself can give the answer. I claim to have been him who has accounted for them. I have alone done them, and many things more, that show *mind* and as much as a common endow-

ment of *intellectual* power, and some that are, as I think, of public utility, and are patriotic and philanthropic, extraordinary and wonderful—*much* which would go to develop the History of the Ancients of that Continent, and to identify it with that of the dispersed tribes of the Children of Israel, but for the opposing influences of my bitter enemies.

CHAPTER III.

Persecuting enemies take every advantage of my physical infirmities to bring me into low repute with friends and countrymen; which circumstance renders it highly needful I should explain concerning them. (See App. B.) My infirmities are what render my external appearance unfavorable to right perceptions of me. I will now proceed to explain as to the cause and nature of the great calamity I have so long suffered. Early in youth I acquired a fondness for reading. The post came along once a week and left at my father's house the newspaper. Besides accounts of events, accidents and remarkable occurrences, it contained bulletins concerning the terrible wars then raging in Europe, and thrilling accounts of Bonaparte's invading and devastating armies. They were new to me, and I read with an intense desire to know about them. They were accounts of human slaughter—of fields encrimsoned with human blood, and plains bestrewed with human carnage—of the armies of spiritual Gog and Magog, and of the all-conquering Prince of the Kings of the earth, gathering to battle, both mingled with and led by despots and tyrants, and by defenders of human rights and friends of humanity. I read them, and was led to read books and papers of every kind as they came to hand. They were calculated to inspire ambition and to interest my feelings; the more I read

as more I desired to read, to hear and to acquire knowledge. I did not then, so early in youth, understand the distinctions proper to be made as to the conductors in those wars. But afterwards, in riper years, reading, hearing and observations enabled me better to comprehend the meaning of what was read, and better to discriminate between lovers of their country and philanthropists, and traitors and misanthropes. (App. C.) Hence was my fondness for reading and itching ears for news. At once I left my juvenile plays and sports, and turned to books and papers. I read at times through the day, and more than once through the night. When taking up a book, treating on some subject I would wish to comprehend, it was not laid down until I understood all its pages could inform me. "Neil's History of the Indians of New England," the first ever published, and other histories of that benighted and oppressed people were read. While preparing for College I have more than once studied my Virgil lessons by moonlight; in this way, often times, I overstrained the optic nerves, the stress so often brought upon them caused near-sightedness and to be slow of apprehension. I have continued daily to read or write, and to overstrain the optic nerves, from youth to present old age, when eyesight fails and I can do neither. (App. D.)

At the age of fourteen I first experienced a difficulty in utterance. For one or two years I suffered an impediment in my speech; in the presence of superiors was unable readily to begin utterance. About the time of entering College I discovered myself to be "slow of speech" (of apprehension); this defect in utterance was, I think, partly the cause of the diffidence which has so often in life put me to shame, and inclined men to think lightly of me. [Nar. E. D., p. 9.] Notwithstanding the constant and severe exercise with the pen, and daily study of books for so many years, I am not aware that any more serious injury was done to the optic nerves, than that just spoken of, until the year 1824, when the powerful men (powerful because millionaires) of the British and American fur companies waged a war of persecution against me. I say again, powerful, because of those companies' ready and able writers, their ready spoken, fine and fluent speaking hirelings. Persecutions as cruel as man ever endured, since the nativity of Jesus Christ, the manifestation of God in the flesh.

This long-continued practice of overstraining the thalami of the brain, chiefly caused the nervous affection in the head; this great calamity, the cause of so much suffering in the flesh. It was increased and made more terrible by shocks given to the mind at times of great bodily debility. Besides the calamity and other evils contributing to ugly external appearances, I am, as has been already explained, slow of apprehension, much slower, probably, than was Moses, who found a like difficulty with me, in expressing his thoughts, much slower than Goldsmith, of whom his contemporaries said, that, "in conversation he never seemed to understand his subject." He could not apprehend the proper thought, in season for utterance. They called him "stupid, ignorant." Dr. Johnson called him an "inspired idiot." As to understanding, the leader of his countrymen into the goodly land of Oregon was much the inferior of Goldsmith; and as to that wisdom which is from above, Goldsmith, very likely, was much the inferior of Moses, the leader of the Hebrews to the goodly land of Canaan. This difficulty of expressing my thoughts has continued, the last ten years, to increase with the nervous affection; so that the last year it has been terrible. At times of high nervous irritation I lose the physical ability of expressing my thoughts—can neither talk nor write; neither can I dictate to an amanuensis, it takes me so long to bring to mind the proper thought. As a legitimate result of this evil, I am also diffident. This adds very much to unfavorable outward appearances. Sad, very sad, were these appearances between the years 1829 and about 1852, when the hireling press had turned and was working against me, and public men, some of the most powerful of them, were working to favor the cause of my enemies; and the hundreds of emigrants enlisted for Oregon being panic struck, left me; and kindred, every soul of them, turned against me. I became terribly *perplexed*, and was driven, at times, to high mental excitement, doubtless to a near approximation to insanity. Was then, more than in previous years, liable to foibles, inadvertencies, and improprieties of conduct. In those years, at every attempt to perform before the public, to lead in devotional exercises at public gatherings, was a failure; diffidence at such times was more humbling and mortifying than ever. Often was

I put to shame. After the last mentioned year, those outward appearances began to wear a more favorable aspect. I recovered from perplexity. As a consequence of it all, my head is confused, and that continually; and I cannot help it. Thoughts, at times, enter the mind disorderly. That which should come first, comes last, and the last first; and they are a long while in coming. Utterance is stammering. Language is broken and diffuse, without imagery or beauty, or any rhetorical embellishment. It is impossible for me to condense it and render it concise and perspicuous. My compositions abound with errors. I copy and copy, again and again, and sometimes the last copy is worse than the first. I think my head and heart are full of thoughts, original, great and good. Those who judge of me, looking only at appearances, would they look at my works and examine them, and examine the fruit of the spirit, they would not have the false and absurd perceptions that they have of me—would not suppose me stupid and ignorant.

A word further as to the condition and evils to which I am now reduced. Having nearly lost my eyesight, I am unable at the present time to distinguish by the features one person from another, at six feet distant from me; and am unable to read manuscript or even print, unless it be in large type, and not that without distress to the optic nerves, and a degree of pain in the head. In every instance, if the reading is ever so short, even a dozen pages, the eyes tire, and the head becomes confused and I am slower of speech and tongue, and utterance is more stammering. At times of mental excitement or nervous irritation, there seems to be a momentary suspension of the power of deliberation; so that I have ceased to read books or to exercise with the pen. I dictate my composition to an amanuensis. Can do this only in the fore part of the day, not every day, and not more than two or three hours in any day. The shattered and morbid-smitten nervous system is never so bad as in the hot season of the year, and has never been so terrible as in the present season. Am all the while faint, and suffering a slow fever. As I have heretofore said, am forced to live alone. I am fond of society, and delight in communion with the virtuous and intelligent. Am forced to do my indoor and outdoor

work. There are none disposed to help me. Help, both male and female, are turned from me. My beloved household, and all in the circle of kindred, every soul of them, deceived, have gone from me and are turned against me, and all in the circle of friends and acquaintances, deceived, have turned to treat me with contempt, some with shameful abuse. Now is it not terrible that one in old age and "waxen in decay," who can only move about by the help of a cane, to be left to live alone, to do his own work in the field, at times under a burning sun, and in the house at times, to cook his food over a hot stove, under a burning fever, to be daily vexed and worried, daily put to rack and torture? It is terrible, and terrible persecutions have made it so. Now is not this, I ask again, a condition truly deplorable? But infinitely more deplorable is the condition of every one "by whom offences come." (App. E.) But it must needs be that I so suffer—nevertheless I have the peace that Christ gives to those who love him.

CHAPTER IV.

(26) In connection with what is said in the last chapter, it is proper to state farther, what contributed to increase the morbidity of the nervous system, and render it more susceptible of the injuries. Persecution was doing it, and causing the sea-sickness and prostration of strength I was brought to suffer during the times of my sea voyages. In doing this, I shall more fully account for my humbling external appearances during the time of mental excitement, and high nervous irritation. (App. F.)

When exploring the low and pestilential tracts in the Southern region of the Sacramento valley, I contracted the fever and ague. It rapidly increased and soon became terrible. The most remarkable interposition in the course of my perilous adventures in the wilderness, occurred just after crossing the Sierra Nevadas and entering Oregon. I will relate the particulars. My party was providentially

made to halt at the very moment when the endemic was having its worst effects upon me, and when I could no longer be borne on horseback. My strength had rapidly wasted, and at times, I fainted and fell from the saddle.

While in a thickly wooded mountain, it suddenly came on dark, and we were obliged to stop for the night, in the midst of woods and thick darkness. Lowering partly down from the animal, I fell; the stones and leaves on which I fell composed my bed. In the morning it was found that some of the horses and pack mules had strayed away. We, however, proceeded on two or three miles, and encamped on an open patch of ground. Capt. Young, my conductor,* and the men who had been of his hunting party, returned to the mountains to search after the lost animals. This caused a *delay*. The five marauders who had attached themselves to my party, two days after leaving the Bay of San Francisco, remained in camp, and were jocular and profane about the fire. I was now shaking like an aspen leaf, prostrate and helpless in my tent. (App. G.)

The place of this encampment was upon the high land near the sources of the principal rivers watering the two countries, to settle which, I had spent my best days, my fortune, and all my earthly comforts. Death appeared inevitable; earth seemed at an end; and the portal of glory, to be opening. Conversation in the camp paused; and now, an angel came to comfort me—"Cheer up, be not afraid;" "Balm and a physician are here;" "God is thy helper, and he will deliver thee." In the solitude of that wilderness, where none but Indians and hunters roared—at that still moment, I heard from a short distance, that shrill voice, so often heard in *civilized lands*—even the voice of the cockerel, a *domestic* bird, a *chieftain* among his race, so wont to celebrate his own triumphs, now loudly crowing, as though exulting in the triumphs of my enterprise, and proclaiming, "Now it is achieved; now, *in this wilderness*, is fixed the abode of *civilization*; now, and henceforth, my voice and the voice of the turtle-dove shall be heard in this land." Though cheering, yet it was painful, like other associations, which it caused to crowd into the mind. Then, suddenly, another voice was heard. A stranger coming into the camp, inquired—"Where is

* See *unprinted paper E*, Appendix, Slaam's Report, Senate Document, 1887-8, No. 24.

Capt. Kelley?" He came to my tent and said he was Capt. La Flambois, from the Columbia River; and had been with his trappers to the Bay of San Francisco, where he had heard of me; and that, he had *hastened* to overtake my party, having had nothing more for his guide than the traces of our encampments. He kindly took charge of my effects, and removed me to his camp. This good Samaritan first administered a dish of venison broth; and then, in proper time, a portion of quinine. The third portion, taken on the second day, dismissed the endemic monster.— After two days at that place I was able to stand upon my legs, but unable to walk. Before leaving the ever-memorable spot where my immortal spirit had nigh taken its departure from earth, the Captain engaged an Indian chief to take me in a canoe, forty or fifty miles down the Umpqua. At first the chief declined, saying, that the upper part of the river was not navigable. Finally, in view of a bountiful reward, he consented to try. In the morning, I was placed on my mule, and borne six miles to the place of embarkation. The chief at one end, his son at the other, and myself sitting upright in the centre of the boat, we floated swiftly along the current. The hoary-headed chief, with wonderful skill, descended the rapids. Often was he in the foaming stream, holding on to the bow to save the boat from pitching or sinking into the angry flood. The voyage was made in a day and a half, and there was much, in that time, to cheer my spirits, and give me strength. The heavens were serene, the air salubrious, and the country on both sides was charming. At the landing, the faithful Indian received of my property, a fine horse, saddle and bridle, a salmon knife and a scarlet velvet sash, and was satisfied. Rondeau, whom the Captain had appointed to be my attendant and guide, was ready at the bank to conduct me, a few miles distant, to the camp of my new party. I mounted with a little help, and rode off, feeling like a new man. (App. H.)

My journeying in that wilderness was full of interesting incidents and things terrible. That my adversaries in Oregon conspired against my life, is to me clearly evident; and I have a reasonable suspicion that the feeble health which I have continued to suffer the last thirty-three years, is the effect of poison administered about the time of my departure from that land.

The manner they treated me was worse than brutal. It was their *cupidity* after *Quadra's Island* which led them on. It was this which gave great energy to their motives; and made them fierce and resolute in abuse and outrage upon me. The result of hardships and their cruelties, is a *nervous affection* in the head, and *physical debilities*.— Though the *body is made feeble*, and the *head confused*, yet the *heart is pure*, and the *hands clean*; and the spirit within remains inflexible and invincible on the side of truth. Finally, a merciful Providence interposed for me. The Mighty God, who will blast the hopes of my enemies and "bring their lofty looks to the dust," saved me.

"Let not man glory in his wisdom, nor the mighty man in his might, nor the rich man in his riches, but let him that glorieth, glory in this, that he understandeth and knoweth me, that I am the Lord which exercise loving-kindness, judgment and righteousness in the earth; for in these things I delight, saith the Lord."

I have spoken of persecutions and afflictions, long endured, will now speak more particularly concerning them of their primary cause and cruel results.

(1.) In the year 1824 I announced to the world my intention to settle Oregon, and to propagate in regions beyond the Rocky mountains, Christianity. The H. B. Co. and its powerful friends, *alarmed*, planned to prevent the overthrow of their monopolies in those regions; in other words, to hinder or prevent the founding of any colonizing settlement in that country, and the great good I had planned (7.) for mankind. This is the *primary* cause of the war of persecution by that company. There is a *secondary* cause. (29.) Again they are *alarmed*. At the time of my arrival at Vancouver in '34, the Company's chief post in Oregon, I was suffering great bodily debility, and was thrust into the hospital at that place, and was kept there, while a sufficient opportunity was afforded to overhaul my baggage, and to examine its contents. In a trunk made of a wild bull's hide, were deeds, charts, historical accounts and other papers, showing myself to be in possession of the evidence of a good title, which certain Americans, myself among them, had to the largest and fairest portions of Quadra's Island, and also showing myself to be (23) the attorney and advocate of the claimants. I had already conducted into that country the first emigrants,

and founded in the valley of Wallammet the first settlement, (App. I.) and that under such circumstances, as would render it impossible for the enemy to break it up. Indeed, it was impossible for any human power to break it up.— That undertaking, as all philanthropic undertakings are, was achieved by the “spirit of God,” in the “power of his might.” As already suggested on some preceding page, the Lord Jesus, the beloved Son of Almighty God, was with me, and wrought for me. In view of the achievement, it might naturally be supposed, that the war, and with it all further persecutions, would cease, and undoubtedly it would but for the discoveries made in my baggage. But their cupidity reaching after the lands just mentioned, was the cause of renewed hostilities. Here is the origin of most of the cruelties, which for nearly half a century, have been practiced upon me.

After the discoveries in the baggage, measures were immediately taken by the chief factor of the Company, to prevent intercourse and concert of action between me and my settlers; believing, as undoubtedly he did, that to put Kelley out of the way would render it less difficult to retard emigration, and to perpetuate the Company's hold upon the lands. (App. J.) Wherefore I was represented as an impostor, and as slandering the settlers, who, becoming incensed against me, threatened, by letter and otherwise, to take my life. The orders then, were, *destroy* him. Martyrdom, then, seemed inevitable. The orders, afterwards, on this side of the continent, were—treat him, at all times, and in all places, with contempt and abuse; follow him hard up with calumny and outrage; and break him down, mind and body—utterly destroy him.

(24) To accomplish their designs, and to prevent mine, and to make an end of my project, they raised an army in the city of Boston, and afterwards in '27 enlisted troops in the cities of New York and Washington, and in '29 raised a more bloody troop in the village of Three Rivers, to which place I had just moved my family (App. K.) Here they fought me until my departure for Oregon in '32. In '39, some years after my return from that territory, I took up again my abode at Three Rivers, and here my adversaries conspired together to drive me from the place or from the world, with the object of bringing into the grasp of their cupidity the valuable lands belonging to me, and the

lands and unoccupied mill privilege belonging to a gentleman abroad, for whom I have many years acted as agent. The persecution has been of forty years duration, unrelenting, unremittant and terrible; and the conspiracy has been of twenty-eight years duration, and as diabolical as was ever known. (App. L.) Taking advantage of my friendless condition, and the calamities and evils they themselves have brought upon me, and the patience and forbearance towards them, they have succeeded to impress upon the minds of multitudes the belief that I am just what I am not, and that I am deserving all the cruelties they practice upon me. Now, these mockeries and abuse have become intolerable. I never speak in malice, nor am I ever provoked to revenge, and can brook insults and impositions as long as any man, but, truly, forbearance has ceased to be a virtue; and it behooves me severely to rebuke them, and publicly to demonstrate the reality of the monstrous evils which they have done and are doing me. There are a few (I know them and their folly) whose popularity and position among their fellow men, give them greater influence than ordinarily belongs to slanderers, (the common devils,) breathing their pestilential breath upon the communities about me. A word or a nod from them is sufficient to blast the character of any powerless and humble individual, however pure and exemplary it may be.— These, partly for their friends' sake, I shall spare awhile longer, hoping they will consider on their ways, turn about and deal justly with me. It is not my purpose to designate persons, nor to specify as to their conduct, further than circumstances will force me to do, and imperative duty, the vindication of myself and the promotion of the public good. Responsibilities to God and duties to myself and the public compel me now to say what forbearance and a disposition for peace have long prevented my saying. Justice has not been regarded by them, nor have the cries of suffering humanity been answered by the voice of commiseration. I will longer delay, longer spare certain of them, sharing largely the public confidence, though more than others they have wronged me and injured their country. To some of the captains of the bloody host I am constrained to administer rebuke.

Before saying anything further in regard to the settlement of Oregon, I will speak exclusively concerning the

war which has raged so many years so terrible against me, a servant of Jesus Christ; to hinder the work appointed by the Lord Jesus for me to do. I say servant. I am such according to the will of God. I know I am; and it has been my duty to testify against some of the most powerful worldlings on earth "that their ways are evil," therefore do they hate me and go about to destroy me.

Never has wrong and outrage been more terrible than during the past year, and at the present time, much more terrible than at any period in the past forty years; and never more merciless has been the persecution of persecuted innocence; never more done, in the way of vexations, to prevent action on my present petition to Congress, and any consideration of my claim on the country, and to unfit for the dictation of this book, this appeal to the justice of Congress and to the humanity of the christian public.

I must hasten to tell my countrymen of the vexations and tortures, and the ruthless vengeance of my implacable enemies; must hasten to remove prejudices, and call back friends and countrymen, many years gone from me. What I shall tell will be a mere synopsis of what *should be told*. I will now proceed. As early as in the year '24, as has already been stated, my adversaries first devised my hurt; and in the year '28, taking the advantage of the pecuniary embarrassments brought upon me by a heavy loss of property in the Three Rivers manufacturing company, they planned to get from me my princely estate and comfortable home in Charlestown, Mass., believing that by so doing they would deprive me of the means which they supposed necessary for the accomplishment of the Oregon enterprise. In this, however, they were mistaken. My *means* were wholly from the inexhaustible store-house of Heaven, and by low cunning and artful management they succeeded in getting from me that estate at one-fourth part of its real value.

In the Spring of '29, to be at a greater distance from adversaries who are coming daily to worry and impoverish me and to delay progress in my great and benevolent enterprise, I moved with my family to the village of Three Rivers, where I had some landed estate, purchased in '28, at the sale of the property of the Three Rivers manufacturing company, taking with me what household stuff the plunderers of my property had left. I continued my resi-

dence at this place until the Spring of '32, when I was driven from it. I made frequent visits to Boston, where was my headquarters; and when my domestic concerns admitted of my absence, I traveled New England, everywhere lecturing on Oregon; but my adversaries were everywhere on the alert. They watched every movement of mine, pursuing me from city to city, laying every plan to vex and worry me, to alienate friends and turn them from and against me, and to discourage those who had enlisted for Oregon (several hundred had enlisted) and to turn them from their purpose. The public was bribed to abuse me, and shamefully did it misrepresent concerning the expeditions which were being made ready. Scurrilous articles appeared in some of the leading public journals, written by a hireling; several in the N. E. Magazine, I am happy to say not the products of the pen of the editors. The first in this periodical disgraced the number for Feb., 1831. I believe, as far as it could be done, it was voluntarily suppressed, being libelous, so abusive, so perfectly regardless of truth, so extravagant in its denunciations, that, like other vice, to be hated, it needed but to be seen. Two other articles followed.—Vol. II, Feb. and April, improved it is true in phraseology, but scarcely less scandalous than the former. The hireling commences with a contemptuous sneer at the comparative resources of Oregon. He dwells particularly upon the distinguished advantages of New England; intimating the folly of those who would leave this birth-place of their fathers, with all its comforts and endearments; as though the statesman and philanthropist might here forever find full scope for their generous and noble aspirations. I passed the winter '32 in Washington, soliciting the patronage and co-operation of Congress in my enterprise. Late in the spring I left for N. E. to complete arrangements for my final departure for the other side of the continent.

On my arrival at Palmer, and within sight of home, where my loved family dwelt, I was arrested by an officer, who served upon me a precept which had no foundation in justice, and was only designed to detain my person and plunder my property. I was manacled, and taken to the village, to the door next to my home, where my companion and children came to greet me; yet did they grieve at my afflictions, and their hearts were sorrowful at what was being done un-

to me. This attack was from an unscrupulous hireling, in the shape of a lawyer, living in a dark alley in the city of Boston; he was mean and contemptible, a fit tool for the relentless enemy. Unwilling to tarry, to contend in law, and delay the enterprise, I answered the demand, unjust as it was, and so freed myself from the clutches of my cruel pursuers.

A few days after, I was threatened with another suit, which had the same design.

To avoid the delays and vexations which these proceedings would necessarily cause me, I left the place for Boston, from whence I sent for my family and effects. Before the latter could be removed, they were plundered to the amount of several hundred dollars.

These brutal acts were not instigated by my townsmen, but by brutish men from Boston, whose object was to prevent progress in my undertaking. In view of a contemplated long absence, I did not forget to provide sufficiently for the support of the dear ones of my household, making arrangements with friends who had this "world's goods" in abundance, and who were accustomed to show kindness, and to give good cheer.

The time for my departure drawing near, I went to Bradford, where my family resided, to take the painful leave. The moment of parting arrived. My companion looked sober, and probably felt sad, though her affectionate regards had been somewhat alienated, by deceiving monsters, who had ill advised her. My children, young, unconscious of the nature of the parting, were cheerful about the room. My heart was burdened, and I could scarcely speak a sorrowing good-by. Taking my valise, I left; and, when beyond hearing, grief burst forth, and I wept aloud. I proceeded to Boston. The journey was a lonely one, and tiresome. My days now were all eventful; and every moment seemed to bring increased cares and anxieties. Just before my final departure for Oregon, I took a few days to go about Boston, and solicit from the munificent, contributions to my funds, which I feared would be inadequate for my purposes, since my enemies, by their cunning and cruelty, had made so frequent drafts upon them. I called upon a wealthy merchant in Beacon street. It was in the afternoon of thanksgiving day, when

I hoped to find him in good spirits, and disposed to make me a donation. But I was disappointed. He replied to me as follows: "I am interested in the commerce of the Pacific, being part owner in two ships now on that ocean. The merchants have had a meeting, and are determined to prevent your breaking up their trade about the Pacific."

Left Boston for Oregon the first of November, 1832. Having provided a vessel for the party and the transportation of my effects to New York, I joined the party in that city; there tarried two or three weeks, occupying what was called the parsonage house, in Stuyvesant street, with the party. After a few days a band of desperadoes at midnight, beset the house, and attempted to force an entrance: first, at the windows, and then at the door, but not succeeding, they soon *hastened* away.

A short time after, two men came to my quarters, one calling his name Foster, the other giving his as Lovett. They said they wished to migrate to Oregon; and would like to accompany me thither; that they were printers by trade, and had money which could be immediately collected to procure outfits, and to meet expenses; and, with a view of giving me proof of their sincerity, took me to a printing office, which they represented as the place of their business. They were well dressed, and of insinuating manners. But the sequel showed them to be accomplished and adroit villains, ready to perform any act affecting my person, plans, or property, however atrocious or hazardous. They did not act upon their own responsibility, but received their impulse from the same powerful source, whence emanated all the opposition. It was an additional plot so to impoverish me as to prevent any further advance of the enterprise; or, what would be more effectual, to deprive me of life. It was a mistaken idea; the like, however, often comes up in the minds of wicked worldlings, that to take from me my earthly substance would be taking means *essential* to the accomplishment of my heaven-planned undertakings.

Learning that a vessel was about to sail for the Sandwich Islands, I applied to the benevolent owner for a passage thither, for a son of mine belonging to the party. A free passage was at once generously offered him. As he was of tender years, and fearing that he would not well endure the

fatigues of the land route, I was glad of the chance to provide for him a sea voyage. He was to wait at the Islands, until my arrival with the party from Acapulco.

The party, with my effects, embarked for New Orleans. Myself proceeded to Washington, where I was the recipient of many favors and of further public encouragement and patronage; and of facilities and the good wishes generally of my countrymen in that city. I left Washington the first of March, 1833, for the land of my hopes; proceeding by the Cumberland road, and the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. At New Orleans I again met the party, provided with good quarters at my expense. Here, too, I found that same spirit which had opposed every previous step of my progress, busily at work, devising every manner of evil against me.

Two of the party, who a few days before leaving New York, were known to be destitute of money, and poorly clad, whose passage I had paid, were now found dressed in new and costly apparel, and had plenty of money. Without the remotest cause of action, they brought, one after another, suits at law against me, until I was harassed with five such cases. The Foster and Lovett who joined the party in New York, resorted to acts of felony, forging several papers; one, a draft of fifteen hundred dollars in my favor on J. Ogden, a wealthy merchant of New Orleans, purporting to have been drawn by a friend of mine in Wall street, New York. It was enclosed in a letter and lodged in the post-office at that place; the letter bearing the appearance of having been forwarded by one "J. Ames." The following is a true copy of the letter and draft:

New York, March 7. 1833.

DEAR SIR:—You are authorized by me to purchase of J. Ogden goods to the amount of fifteen hundred dollars, for the Oregon expedition. Purchase such goods as you think will best suit the Oregon market. Below is the order for the receipt of the goods.

I remain yours &c.

ROBERT ELWELL.

MR. J. ODGEN :

SIR;—Please deliver the bearer, Hall J. Kelly, goods to the amount of fifteen hundred dollars, and draw on me for the same.

ROBERT ELWELL.

New York, March 7, 1833.

By means such as this they hoped to fix the stigma of crime upon me, and procure my incarceration; but failing, they tried another expedient to accomplish their ultimate object. It was to deprive me entirely of property; thus, they supposed I should be induced to return to New England, and abandon the enterprise. Getting access to my property in storage, they stole over a thousand dollars of it, and started with it for Texas. Fortunately, they were on the same day overtaken, brought back, examined before Judge Perval, and with the crime of larceny labeled to their character, were committed to prison, where, doubtless, it was the divine purpose they should realize a portion of the reward of evil doers. After a day and night imprisonment, they sent for me. My ears being ever open to the cries of distress, whether of the human or the brute race, I hastened to the window looking into the place of their "torment." They besought me with tears, to intercede in their behalf, and obtain their release. I did so, importuning the public authority which had committed them, and they were released. My enemies—bitterest enemies, have always my good wishes and compassionate regards. Notwithstanding their grave pretensions to penitence and sorrow, being somewhat versed in the book of man's depraved nature, and endowed with at least a moderate degree of penetrating knowledge of the human character, I could read them, and understand what was meant, and therefore required from them a written confession of their guilt. They gave it, though reluctantly, solemnly pledging never again to trouble me, then left, but not to keep their pledge. Straightway, using the freedom which humanity had just given them, they proceeded to carry out new plans and plots of treachery and revenge.

By anonymous letter and other ways I was threatened with assassination, did I not hasten from New Orleans. The following is a copy of one of the letters :

New Orleans, March 27th, 1833.

DEAR SIR :—I accidentally overheard yesterday, some of your Origen company forming a conspiracy against you, and are determined to take your life either by some means or other, others thought it would be most too rash an act and had better take you up for swindling, and that they considered a very easy matter according to the lawyers account. I am really affraid that your life is very much at stake, and now take my advise, and leave the country as soon as possible if you want to come off with a sound head.

I remain,

A frind.

Those two blood-thirsty pursuers, finding a vessel ready to sail for Vera Cruz, in conformity, doubtless, to the counsel of others in connivance, embarked for that port; there, to lie in wait, and destroy me if they could. Before sailing, having had permission to enter the store house where my effects were deposited, and receive a chest belonging to one of them, notwithstanding their solemn pledge to cease from troubling, they managed to abstract from my packages a chest similar in appearance to theirs, packed with articles designed for Indian presents, of the value of over \$200, leaving their own, which contained nothing of value, in its stead. I was present, but being near-sighted, and my mind filled with anxieties. I did not, at the hurried moment, notice the difference between them.

I was surprised, but not frightened at this threatening aspect of the enemy's power. Finding a spirit to vex and to destroy me infected most of the party, I gladly dismissed them all, and, having adjusted my business as best I could, I secured a passage to Vera Cruz in the schooner Gen. Lafayette, Capt. Hoyt.

Here new actors appeared in this persecuting scheme, and an attempt was made to prevent my embarkation. The Capt. had suddenly changed the day for putting to sea, having determined to sail earlier than the time appointed for that purpose. Although my goods were brought to the levee agreeable to a previous understanding, and the freight had already been paid, he refused to receive them. I was not to be foiled in that way. Being cramped for time, a few half dollars from my pocket brought aid from the by-standers, and my effects were

rushed on board, with the exception of about two hundred dollars worth, including the body and hind wheels of a wagon, which were left and lost.

As the vessel was leaving her moorings, seizing the last opportunity, I leaped on deck, there to endure still greater indignities and sufferings than had been experienced on shore.

I will not stop to mention all that I suffered on that passage. During most of the voyage the sea was boisterous, and the heavens were darkened with clouds and storms. Although I had purchased as good accommodations as the schooner afforded, yet was I denied a retreat to a place not open to the angry heavens. No reasoning, no appeals to justice or mercy, could abate the rigor of this brutal treatment. Fourteen days and nights I lay on the quarter deck, terribly sea-sick, and exposed to the worst of weather, sometimes drenched in salt water, and again in fresh. A portion of my freight remained on deck by the side of the bulwarks, exposed to the breach-making sea. This much was greatly injured, so that a part having lost its value was thrown overboard, and a part less injured was given to the poor at Vera Cruz. The language of the Capt. was uniformly abusive, and his whole conduct unfeeling towards me; so much so, that I could not then doubt, nor have I ever since doubted but as a hireling he was serving the interests of those whose object it had been for nine years to crush my enterprise and prevent the *settlement* of Oregon; I say *the settlement* of Oregon.

Something more should be said of the captain. He was illiterate, ill-bred, ill-tempered, and intemperate, also. In a dead calm, when everything appeared listless, and almost lifeless, and scarcely wind enough to blow a feather from the round top, he lay stretched in one corner of the quarter-deck, seemingly in slumber. He was called, and called again to dinner—turns a little, gapes and sighs, but makes no answer. The sailors said, let him alone, he will get over it. Often with the brazen and vacant look of an ignorant man did he approach to insult me. His language was uniformly abusive, and his conduct unfeeling.

An occurrence happening on the 2d day of May, nearly proved fatal to the vessel and the lives of all on board. At early dawn, a Spanish gentleman, coming on deck, cried out, "land! land!" Our frail bark was fast nearing the

rocky shore, which was not more than 50 or 75 rods distant. Fortunately, the fog, which had enveloped it, was now rising. The helmsman had just time to wear ship, and save being dashed upon the rocks. A similar occurrence happened on the 10th. In the evening, returning from a trip to or near the bay of Campeche, while the captain was in one of his stupefactions, we heard the breakers roar and could see their foaming crests. They were close by on the lee bow. The mate wears about and goes to sea. The captain, who was in his berth, being informed, raised himself partly up, and said "I can't help it," and fell back. The mate was a sober, active and understanding man. Deplorable must have been our condition had this valuable officer, second in command in the fore part, and first in the after part of the day, been drunk! dead drunk!

On the 11th, the schooner entered the bay of Vera Cruz, and anchored under the guns of Fort St. Juan de Ulloa. [See Appendix K.] I now left the captain, but he was not quite ready to leave me, nor to leave the object of wasting my property. He had not fully accomplished the business with which he was charged.

Landing at the port of Vera Cruz, Lovett, the treacherous actor at New Orleans, called on me to offer his greeting, and to tender his services in repacking my effects, and preparing for my early departure from that place of pestilence and death. His countenance was pleasant, but I could still read in it the wicked emotions of his heart. Though he seemed to come to kiss, yet his object was to betray, and to execute upon me the bloody deed, which the revengeful spirit of himself and accomplice was hurrying them to do. His cunning and insinuating manner drew to him some friends, and there were some about him, friends to nobody. To have suggested to others my bad opinion of him would have exposed myself at that time to the assassin's power. Indeed, being privately reminded of ingratitude at the time of his embarkation at New Orleans, his jealousy was aroused, and he told me, with great emphasis, if I named any circumstance exposing his character in that place, I must do all my repenting at Vera Cruz, and be prepared for the worst results. However, not intimidated, I gave him wholesome advice, forbade his taking a step with me into the interior, or traveling the

same road the same day, and requested him to return immediately to a land of laws, and to his mad and unsuccessful employers. In view of this threatening aspect of things, I was not wanting in circumspection and civilities, both in regard to this villain, the captain, and their accomplices.

Soon after my arrival, a share was laid by him, which he and a colored man, his associate, were unable to spring upon me; artfully attempting to draw me into a dark hole in the city, unquestionably with the design of taking my life. I will not delay to particularize as to this, his murderous plot. This monster villain, soon after my departure from that place, was seized with the black vomit, and in a few days there was the end of one "by whom offences come."

The following transactions seemed to indicate that the captain and the officers of the customs were each to share in the plunder of my property. Some days after the cargo of the vessel was discharged, one of the sailors informed me that a package of my stuff was found concealed under old rigging in the hold. It consisted of such pieces and remnants of cotton and woollen fabrics as would be useful to me in Oregon, and was worth from \$100 to \$150. My anxiety was to know how to get possession of the goods without prejudice to my character. I had no disposition to smuggle, or to do a dishonorable act. To bring it publicly on shore, it was said, would endanger the vessel; or to bring it clandestinely, would afford a plausible reason for supposing it merchandise for that market, which was far from being the fact. I was told, that, for a *reward*, a *custom house officer* would bring the package to me. An engagement was made. The property was brought between two suns, and left at the place appointed, and twenty silver dollars were paid for doing the business. It appeared like a fair and legal transaction, but, with the officer, it was smuggling, under revenue laws made and provided for that purpose. All along have I been vexed and brought to suffer losses of property, all to prevent progress in my Oregon enterprise.

The losses at New Orleans, including what the corrupted men of my party caused me to expend at that place, in lawsuits, and what, from necessity, was left on shore at the moment of my re-embarkation; and also, what the two

felons, released through my merciful feelings from prison, carried away, amounted to several hundred dollars. [See Chap. I., p. 7.] The damaged property thrown overboard from the vessel which carried me on her quarter-deck, during remarkable extremes of weather, across the Gulf of Mexico, added to that which was stored in the custom house at Vera Cruz, and of which I was plundered by Mexican officers, in connivance with certain American citizens, was a very considerable amount, and much more than I was willing to lose at that stage of the progress of the enterprise.

Here, though it be a digression, I would ask, what understanding man cannot perceive, from the beginning, robbery and bloody purposes, and plans fraught with crime by those of my countrymen serving the interests of the Hudson Bay Company.

On landing, having engaged boarding quarters, and got my passports endorsed by proper authorities, I turned my thoughts to my baggage, which was of much value, a portion of it needful for present use. Some of it was in loose packages. Most of it was placed in the custom house for safe keeping, until my departure thence, agreeable to the advice of the American consul. In view of my ill health, my condition and the distracted state of public affairs in that country, he thought it would be unsafe at the hotel. Unskilled at that time in the Spanish language, I had no direct communication with the revenue officers, but it was understood on my part, and also, I supposed, on the part of the consul, that it would be readily and freely given up when called for. The voyage had reduced me to great physical debility, so that at the time of landing, I had only strength enough to get from my quarters on the quarter-deck, to quarters in the city.

It was the sickly season, when strangers from other climates felt faint and languid, and scarcely able to transact business. Notwithstanding the feeble state of my health, and the importance of my hastening from the place, with the hope of obtaining some indemnity from the captain for my losses, which he had carelessly or wantonly caused me, I delayed my departure over two weeks.

After landing, I delayed no time to complain to the American consul, as was my privilege to do concerning troubles with the captain, his unkind treatment, and the

waste of my property. Subsequently, a written statement of the facts was given him, but he seemed dull of hearing, and unwilling to exercise, in my behalf, his consulate authority, as though I was an outlaw, fleeing from my own to that foreign country, and had forfeited all benefit of public protection. However, he said he would do all he could for me. I should have passed in silence the injuries done me by the captain and hastened on my journey, and had been under no necessity of placing my effects in the custom house; but recent encounters with the pursuing enemy had reduced my strength almost to prostration, and rendered needful a few days' rest. It did not occur at that time of troubles, as to the convenience of taking the property into some building of his. Had the favor been asked, I have some reason to believe it would have been refused.

I came to that city at the imminent peril of life, and no less hazardous was my sojourn there. From Boston to Vera Cruz I had been the victim of a ruthless persecution. Having escaped the enemy which had pursued me thither, I had to encounter another enemy more dreadful in conflict, viz: the poisonous atmosphere of a filthy city.

So frequent and heavy were the blows I received from my pursuers; so terrible were the exposures I was compelled to endure, and so many gloomy clouds enshrouded the object upon which my heart was immovably fixed, that my enfeebled nervous system could not endure such repeated and dreadful shocks, and I almost sank under the weight of my calamities.

In the store of James Cullen & Co. I discovered, displayed upon the counter, the identical articles which Foster and Lovett stole from me at the time of their leaving New Orleans. I laid claim to them, but was told by the consul that \$168 duty had been paid, and by paying which I could have the goods. I had been so plundered I had not funds to part with, and chose to suffer the loss.

Finding myself daily becoming more enfeebled, and fast sinking into the grasp of the endemic destroyer, I hastened arrangements for resuming the journey, and called for the property deposited in the custom house. To my surprise, it was refused, on the ground of a requisition of custom house duties. [App. M.] I had never, at home or abroad, declined to render "unto Caesar the things that were Caesar's," but to pay a tax in Mexico on property not duti-

able, I unhesitatingly declined to do. A bond would have been given, if requested, guarding against the sale of so much as a single article in that country; but that was not the thing. The object was to plunder; and both the consul and the revenue officers seemed leagued to stop my progress; to turn me back and induce the entire abandonment of my heart-devised, heartfelt and heart-determined project (once called by public men a noble project; a philanthropic enterprise; a stupendous undertaking; but in '32, the year of my departure for Oregon, called by a certain few in high places, strange it was, an "*idle project*").

After several days of entreaty, through the consul, explaining the object of my journey, giving my reasons for taking that circuitous route to Oregon, and presenting the passport from the State Department of the United States, the cupidity of the revenue officers relaxed a little, and I was permitted to select four packages from the eight. I took such as contained wearing apparel, defensive weapons, Indian presents, &c. The amount of duties demanded was nearly the invoice value of the property. By what rule of calculation, or principle of right they had fixed upon any specific amount of tax, or had taxed at all, I could not understand. The schedule gave only a description of the packages, but nothing in particular in regard to their contents, and when the selection was made, I discovered no appearance of their having been opened.

One of the packages retained in the custom house was a large chest containing a full set of the laws of the United States, and such books of my library as might be of use during my intended sojourn in the Oregon territory. Among those books was a rare and expensive work, called the Dictionary of Natural Science; the most comprehensive of the kind within my knowledge. The chest itself was a relic of my ancestors. Both were invaluable to me, and I grieve at the loss.

Most of the property had been purchased in New York for the purposes already stated; for the furtherance of an enterprise encouraged by the public authorities of my own country, and planned for the good of all nations. It was to be transported in like manner with the change of garments for covering my person. From Vera Cruz it was to be borne to Acapulco, there to be reshipped to the place of its original destination. No package was intended

to be opened in all its transit through the Mexican domains, unless for personal use. The property, I do not hesitate to repeat, was not dutiable under that government. The very fact of revenue officers being the persons who brought on shore the stolen portions of it, supposes it not dutiable.

A desire to advance the interests of that unenlightened and ill-fated people induced my journey thither; and while attempting to scatter light in their dark villages and cities, I flinched from no hardship, and turned from no peril.

In the proper construction of the passport furnished me by the State Department of the U. S. A., protection should have been given both to my person and property. But protection was given to neither. I had to rely on my own arm, directed and strengthened by the Almighty. These motives and duties impose obligations, somewhere, to indemnify for losses caused by the public and private robbers of Mexico. I appeal to any candid and sensible man, whether American or Mexican, if it was dealing justly with me to demand tribute for no other reason than that of my journeying through a land which was being desolated with civil war, and where the government was feeble, and without means to guard the rights of the weary and way-faring traveler.

I left Vera Cruz by the stage, for Jalapa on the 27th. The day following completed an exchange of one of the most sickly for one of the most healthful cities in North America.

I seized the earliest convenient moment, after my arrival at that place, to address a letter to Mr. Butler, our Minister at the seat of government, asking him to interpose in my behalf, and obtain, if he could, the release of the property, so wrongfully withheld in the custom house at Vera Cruz. He promptly applied to the Minister of Finance, and was told it should be given up as soon as papers were received from that place. I tarried here eighteen days, making daily excursions into the country, examining minutely every variety of plants, shrubs, and trees, and also, whatsoever was new to me and come under my observation, belonging to the mineral kingdom, and the physical aspect of the country. I passed two days in exploring the region about what is called Table mountain. I ascended to

the open summit of a high swell of land, and there, near and in view of that mountain where the ancients of that portion of the country were wont to worship their idol Gods, did I worship, offering praise and prayer to the only true and living God, as when, ever after, in the solitude of the mountain-top, it was my devout practice to do.

From Jalapa, having ordered my baggage to be forwarded by stage, I proceeded, on foot, to Puebla, and after three days, left that city by the stage for the metropolis of the country.

The two villains, Lovett and Foster, who troubled me so much at New Orleans, immediately after their arrival at Vera Cruz, separated; one remained to perform at that place, the other hastened to the City of Mexico, there to lay in wait for my coming.

Almost the first man I met with was Foster. He appeared penitent, and glad to see me, and promised to trouble me no more. He had taken boarding at the stage house. For reasons I have not now time to state, I took boarding for a few days at the same place. At a moment of my absence, Foster got access to my papers, and abstracted therefrom a paper which he and Lovett had given me at New Orleans, confessing their guilty conduct in that city.

For reasons I will not now assign, [App. N.] I shall omit to narrate all that came to my experience, and under my observation, in that city and onward; have time to say but little more than what pertains to the troubling by Foster and his associates. He had come thither by stage,* and had also taken boarding, both at my expense; taking advantage of some printed documents and papers of mine which he had in his possession.

*In the year 1830, three enterprising Yankees from New England, much to the astonishment of the Mexicans, established a line of stages between Vera Cruz and the City of Mexico. Their horses were purchased, and their carriages manufactured in Pennsylvania. After a few months, a company of Mexicans got up an opposition line, which, before the end of a year, broke down, owing chiefly to the inferiority of their horses and carriages.

MEXICAN ROADS.—The chief defects of the roads were the broken pavements, (a portion of them some years previous had been paved, piles of stone in the traveled path, and deep-worn tracks of carriage wheels.) A small expense, comparatively, would have put the road from Vera Cruz to Mexico in good condition; but it—as the policy of the proprietors of the present line to keep it in its present bad condition, in order to discourage competition in their business of staging. It would be ruinous for a company to attempt an opposition, using the Mexican heavy and lumbering carriages; for while such would at once break down, the American carriages, lighter and better constructed, would sustain but little damage.

These three New Englanders, among the most sagacious of Yankees, at the end of three years, while I was in the city, sold out to some Mexicans, and divided the stock and profits in the business, each receiving \$75,000.

The keeper of the stage house demanded of me \$18 for his board three weeks. To this I objected, but my remonstrance availed me nothing; I must pay it, or suffer a loss of some part of my effects, which that unjust and unfeeling foreigner had in storage. One of the stage proprietors demanded of me \$30—Foster's fare from Vera Cruz to that city—saying I was his (Foster's) partner in business. I replied that he had made an improper use of my name, that I was no partner of his and should pay none of his debts; whereupon I was abused by the proprietor—called, in the presence of a multitude of people, a deceiver and a swindler. A foreigner (Plummer) with whom Foster had taken quarters, attached my baggage, citing me before an Alceide, to show reasons why I should not pay him \$32 on his boarder's account. Foster at the same time made a bold attempt to get from me a valuable portion of my effects, which he claimed as his own. These matters were laid before a magistrate, and the property was restored to me.

Those were perilous and troublesome days; yet I believe they were ordered in Infinite wisdom, and were, under the overruling hand of Divine Providence, for my highest good. Circumstances render it necessary to be brief, and to hurry on to where I shall speak more particularly of *explorations* and the *settlement of Oregon*.

I took boarding at the Washington Hotel, kept by Mr. Orford, an enterprising man, formerly from the United States, the only public house, with the exception of the stage house, kept for foreigners in that city. Among the guests there were Col. Austin, the founder of the first settlement of the Americans in Texas, Col. Hodgkiss and Gen. Mason from Virginia, and several other distinguished Americans. Their purpose in that country was to bring about the annexation of Texas to the United States.

July 12. I walked to St. Nicholas, the beautiful residence of James S. Wilcox, Esq., the American Consul, situated on the border of Lake Chalco, a distance of four leagues from the city. On my arrival I was informed by his family that the consul was absent in the city, and probably would not return till evening. So to make the best of my time, I walked about to examine the things new to me in the vicinity. The first things that attracted my attention were the steep hills and the lofty mountains—the prominent things that marked the face of the whole country. At half a mile distant from the buildings was a mountain over five hundred feet in height. I climbed its steep ascent. Its sides were covered with red, volcanic ashes, stained, probably, with oxide of iron, and other minerals, and

bestrewed in places with scoria. In the summit was a volcanic crater, in the shape of a tunnel, of nine or ten rods in diameter at the opening. Two or three weeks after this, I again ascended the mount, and by a trigonometrical operation ascertained the elevation of several other mountains, particularly that of the far distant Orezava, whose sublime top was distinctly seen. That mount, the second, as to height, in the country, appeared by the measurement I had made of it, to be over 16,000 feet above the sea, including the elevation of the plain of Mexico. As others had made it, my measurement was, I think, but a near approximation to the real height. The base line, which lay across the crater, was too short compared with another side of the triangle, which was over forty miles in length, and, besides, my theodolite was not in perfect order.

In the evening the consul returned, and gave me a hearty welcome. I was treated by that generous countryman, not only with politeness, but with every kind attention. After two days, I left to look after my affairs in the city. On leaving, he invited me to come and pass the time with him until I should resume my journey onward. I did so, and was for several weeks the recipient of the most generous hospitality.

After a month's delay, and much trouble, I received two packages of my effects, which, when at Vera Cruz, I had ordered to the City of Mexico; they had been over twenty days on the road. The freight was \$25 for 300 pounds.

It is astonishing what loads the cargadores, or porters, in that city, can carry. One of the packages weighed over 150 pounds, and this the porter carried on his shoulders, and bore to me, a distance of nearly half a mile, apparently with much ease.

A week after my arrival in the city, the cholera, in its fearful march from Canada, through the United States, reached the city.

Concerning it, and some other matters, an extract from my letter to J. B. Thornton, dated Aug. 24th, 1833, will show:—

"I am making arrangements to leave immediately for San Blas, expecting, on the way, no protection by virtue of the laws of the land; no other than the kind which vultures give to lambs, taking and devouring them—no other *earthly* security than such as will be afforded by unarmed servants, and personal defensive weapons.

"About twenty days ago, the cholera, in its fearful and desolating march, reached this city, and has slain thousands. In the space of five days, four thousand persons are said to have died. A remedy brought with me, furnished by William Dar-

rah, M. D., Professor of Principles and Practice of Medicine in Pennsylvania Medical College, Philadelphia, has saved, it is believed, the lives of some thousands of the higher class of population. For the poor who fill the streets, there seems no escape from death. Their condition, and that of those in all the villages, is truly deplorable. Sleeping upon the ground between rush mats or filthy blankets, without physicians or medicines, or even knowledge of means for relief, they are peculiarly exposed to the terrible destroyer. The work of death goes on among them unopposed. Gen. Santa Anna has found in the monster a formidable enemy, irresistible in attack, and cruel in victory. There were slain by that foe, near Guadalajara, in one battle, over two thousand of his army; and many who escaped are panic struck, and are deserting. The patriotic and intrepid general is making a new draft, and will be able, I trust, to put down his rebellious *fellow-citizens*, though Gen. Arista and Col. Duran lead them.

"The civil outbreaks and commotions constantly occurring in Mexico are not likely to result in any beneficial effects to the people. The fundamental principles of government must be different, more in harmony with the principles of Christianity. The policy of the governing power must be changed. Under present circumstances, while the whole nation is living in sottish ignorance, without schools for the youth, and without a heaven-taught ministry, unenlightened and inexperienced, as to practical freedom and the blessings of Christian civilization, that policy should be more arbitrary, and the government less republican.

"When the consummation of the happy state of things comes,—and would to God it would speedily come,—that Mexico is regenerated; and only by the general diffusion of education and useful knowledge, and by the preaching of the gospel,—with the strongest emphasis, I say, by the promulgation of the religion of Jesus Christ in its purity can she be born again. Then may there be less arbitrary sway, and more freedom; then bloody internal contests will cease, the rights of man be supported, and the peace of the nation great and enduring.

"Mexico should have more light, and the sympathy of neighbors. Other nations should help her. It would be

right, that her elder sister republic, the powerful and opulent United States, should help her, and make her a loan of a few millions of money, to be applied exclusively in laying the foundation of freedom just described. Unless such a foundation is laid; and the monsters, ignorance and superstition, are driven from the land, political delusions, clandestine disorders, war and bloodshed and human sufferings will continue; and she will remain heathenish and accursed, even unto the time when the angel of God will announce to the world, time is no more."

VACCINATION.—I received from the benevolent hands of N. R. Smith, M. D., of Baltimore, and William Morton, M. D., of Georgetown, D. C., a supply of vaccine matter, which was carefully applied to the benefit of the Indians in the ranches near the city.

I lost no time, neglected no opportunity, relaxed no effort to do the good I had purposed to do in that country. I engaged in no idle amusements; expended not so much as a dollar 'for that which is nought;' yet, occasionally I took a game at checkers with my distinguished fellow-boarders at the hotel, and once did I attend the theatre to witness a bull-fight, and learn concerning that ancient, barbarous custom. Neither the games nor the visit to the theatre were without some benefit to me.

Mr. Butler again informed me of his being unable to effect anything in my behalf with the Government. His frequent notes to the Minister of Finance bring him many promises for an interview, but no opportunity. See Mr. Butler's printed correspondence with that Government, in the State Department at Washington. The time was near when I was to resume my journey onward.

CHANGE OF ROUTE.—A vessel had been engaged to be at Acapulco at a certain time, to take myself and party, with my effects, to the Sandwich Islands. The party having been dismissed at New Orleans, having been robbed of a large part of the effects deposited in the custom house at Vera Cruz, and having been delayed over two months at the City of Mexico, I found it impracticable to be in season, at the place appointed. These and other distressful circumstances induced a change in my route. It now lay through the country direct to San Blas. In the beginning of the enterprise, I planned to cross the continent via. St. Louis, and to make a transit of

the mountains at the southern pass, so called, which is minutely described in the "Narrative of E. D." In order to effect some arrangement with the Mexican Government and distinguished individuals in that country, relative to the lumber and fish trade, &c., between the Columbia River and the Mexican western ports; and for extending, in proper time, my *colonizing operations into High California*; and, also, by a desire of turning the attention of the people in the cities of Mexico to some better system of education than had ever been adopted by them; and, generally, to such internal improvements, moral and physical, as would most likely lay a better foundation for freedom, and multiply in their land the conveniences and comforts of life, induced this circuitous route through the Mexican domains.

My objects were to benefit others more than myself. Not only did that journey subject to incredible hardships and sufferings, but greatly exposed me to the pursuing and subtle enemy. At New Orleans and Vera Cruz, the hostile troops made bold and fierce attacks. They, there, almost overcame me. And so, all along through distracted Mexico, did they closely pursue me; every few days did they force me into hot and bloody battles, making demonstrations of their wrath. On page 14 it is seen that in the year 1824 the Hudson Bay Company waged their war of persecution; and the candid reader will see how terrible it has been. On my part it has been "the good fight of faith," in defence of life and liberty, and of the rights of man, and in the cause of humanity. No mortal man has fought with me; but Christ has been with me; therefore have they not triumphed.

The change of route, spoken of above, was, I think, providential. It afforded me an opportunity to explore Indian countries, and investigate concerning that benighted and oppressed people.

Just before leaving the city, and proceeding onward, Col. Hodgkiss, a countryman distinguished in the war of 1812, presented me with an elegant sword, a testimonial of his respect for me; and perhaps partly in view of the perilous journey to be pursued along roads at that time known to be infested with banditti. My generous and kind-hearted friends, Mr. Wilcox, and Geo. L. Hammerkin, the latter a gentleman from New York, associated

with the consul in the management of his hacienda, contributed liberally to my outfit. The consul presented me with two noble mules, and a theodolite, all of the value of several hundred dollars. Mr. Hammerkin made me a generous gift of money.

Foster now again creeps into my presence, and importunes hard for the privilege of again traveling with me, promises another paper confessing his past guilty conduct, and to assist in driving the animals. I consented. He proposed to hand me immediately the paper, a matter I cared but little about. He had, as I have said, soon after my arrival, abstracted from my baggage a paper confessing his guilty conduct in New Orleans. I told him, however, that I had no confidence in his professions of repentance or friendship, and that I believed him to be entirely destitute of principle. He purposely delayed giving that paper until after we had passed out of the city. It was at length artfully given me when I was on horseback, at a moment when he knew it would not be likely to be read. Afterwards, at the place of my encampment, I found it was not what it should be; yet did I suffer him to proceed on, not fearing what he could do to me.

My personal arms were a light gun, a brace of pistols, and the sword just presented me. In the baggage were three guns and other weapons such as are usually used in human slaughter. Thus was I accoutred in complete Cossack panoply. Also, included in the mules' cargoes, were Indian presents, three guns, a tent, journals, stationery, a nautical almanac, thermometer, theodolite, and other things, such as might be useful at the place of my destination, and on the way thither.

My trust was not in these equipments, earthly weapons, liable to fail me in the hour of danger; it was then, and ever has been, in the sure mercies of David, in the strong arm of Christ, the beloved Son of the Almighty God, the Redeemer of men, who said to his servants, "Lo, I am with you always, even unto the ends of the earth."

Just before resuming the journey, two strangers, a French gentleman and a countryman from Philadelphia, Giredot and Keyser, came and proposed to accompany me to Gaudlajara. Their company was very acceptable, and proved to be of much benefit to me. I was now ready to go forward.

CHAP. V.

Just as I was leaving, when outside of the gate, Foster introduced to me a savage looking man whom he called Frederick, and who was going, he said, to San Blas, and desired to travel with me; said he would assist in driving the burthened animals. I consented, believing a refusal would be of no avail; that Foster had picked him up for an accomplice in carrying out his bloody purpose. I learned afterwards by the French gentleman that he was a foot-pad, and an associate with the highwaymen in that portion of the country.

My servant engaged in the city to take charge of the mules, and to serve as a guide, at the end of two days refused to go farther. I settled with him, paid him his price, and for a further compensation he plundered my baggage of some small articles, not, however, of much value. After four days, Giredot and Keyser, finding it too tiresome to travel in a slow walk, and impatient to go forward, left me. They had traveled with me two or three hours in the morning, and then hastened to their night quarters. Foster and Frederick were now my only servants and guide. At eight o'clock in the evening, after a hard day's journey, having missed the road, I stopped, pitched my tent by the side of the path and unburdened the mules. Early the next morning I started in search of some populated place for food and provender for the beasts, and also for information as to the right road. After traveling nearly a league I entered a village, went from house to house, but the doors were kept closed; none cared to give me answer—not so much as a cup of water. Returning to the encampment, I ordered the animals to be got ready to leave. While in the tent making ready the baggage, Foster, outside, called out, "Robbers are coming." Looking out, I saw ten or fifteen men, variously armed, near approaching. To show non-resistance, I grounded my gun at the tent door. The supposed robbers came up in front, their captain advanced, and with trembling hands stooped down and picked up the gun. Then, full of courage, called out, *Bamos, bamos*. On my coming

out he demanded my side-arms. They were now silent for awhile, as though waiting for a reinforcement. Soon I saw, under a cloud of dust, a crowd of women and children. They came and seated themselves in a line on the ground. All fears of their having bad intentions were now dispelled. They were silent. Four men on horseback arrived; one was the Elcelde of the village where I had just been so unsuccessful in finding friends. He addressed to me a few words, all of which I did not understand. I then exhibited the traveling passport given me by the chief executive of the United States, and a letter from a distinguished countryman, stating the objects of my sojourn in Mexico. These papers were translated into his own language. He read them and bowed. I bowed also, and we shook hands. Among the women was a fair and thoughtful looking old lady, who had come prepared with tortillis and fruit to relieve our hunger. She uncovered a basket, and looking kindly at me, said, "Senora, toma." We partook of her bounty; though I had fasted twenty-four hours, was not hungry, but Foster ate much, and ate like a dog on the point of starvation. This lady I supposed to be the mother of the Elcelde, and a "mother in Israel." I thought I could see an excellent spirit in her; and believed the spirit of Christ prompted her to administer comfort to me. After opening a package of Indian presents, I addressed her, "Senora, toma (take)," and gave her in return, lace and ribbons, with which she seemed pleased, ten times the value of what had been received. The Elcelde and his suite having conducted me to the right road, bade me good-by, and returned to their village, and I proceeded on my route.

After two days reached Yula, where I found my two fellow travelers awaiting my arrival. Here I passed two or three days in exploring the region about the city, most of the time in the market place, studying human nature, observing the manners and customs of the people, and seeking knowledge, and picking up memorials of antiquity. History informs us that the Annuhac tribe, the earliest aborigines of Mexico, in their migration southward from the place of their landing on the American shores, made Yula their first stopping place. After two or three days, with my companions in company, I again moved forward. I would here remark as to the aspect of

the country. It is a great plain, spreading out from the city of Mexico, westward, nearly or quite an hundred leagues. It is nearly destitute of timber, possesses a fertile soil, which is composed mostly of volcanic ashes and vegetable mould.

In Curetero I delayed one day, bought a horse, and there were stolen from my effects articles of six or eight dollars value. The baser sort of the natives are much given to thieving, and practice with wonderful skill the sleight of hand, and can steal before the eyes of another without his knowledge. Though I kept a constant watch over my property, yet I was constantly losing. My fellow travelers have again left me and gone ahead to hunt rabbits. I passed though Salais, and put up for the night in a Puebla, three leagues beyond that place. The hunters were with me, and we made a good supper on rabbits.

About the middle of the next day reached Salamanca. Outside of the town a man on horseback met me and said he would conduct me to a mason and to the Custom House. At the latter place my passports and papers were examined. The custom house officer said I was unlawfully carrying four guns. I replied that the passport gave me a right to carry them. He said, however, I might sell one of them to his son, then standing at the door, and proceed on with the three. Accordingly, one was offered to the lad at half its value. But this was not the thing; the gun he wanted without price. I took back the passport and walked out, returned to the Inn and ordered the servant to make ready to leave. The marshal now brought forward a large horse, which he offered to exchange for a gun. The animal, on examination, was discovered to be blind in one eye and to be badly foundered. It was more than two hours before I could get rid of these insolent officers of the government. I finally got out of the city, but had not proceeded half a league when a man came in great speed, offering to sell his horse for a gun. I assured him I had no wish to buy, and desired him to leave. At length, with much difficulty, I induced him to wheel about and leave me. He hastened back to report, no doubt, to the officer of the customs. I began to think I had now escaped the heathen city; but alas! in less than an hour afterwards, whom should I see following but him who was a few hours before so courteous and attentive to me in the city. He comes to renew his

attempt to rob me of the gun. He first said he must have the gun and \$4.00 for the horse offered me. He demanded it—demanded me to stop and turn back; seized hold of my bridle, flourished his sword and discharged a pistol, riding forward to stop the mules, again discharged his pistol, crossing the path ahead of my horse, and again, the third time, discharged the pistol.

To get rid of his troubling, I proposed to submit the matter to the Elcelde of the next village. It was nearly dark before we reached one. Providentially, I met there my two friends. Giredot, conversant in the Spanish language, and serving me as an interpreter, stated the case to the magistrate, and the robber was ordered to turn back and pursue me no further. In the morning, the Padre, whom I believed to be an honest man and disposed to deal justly with me, proposed to buy the gun, offering me for it a large and powerful looking horse, apparently without a blemish. His price was fifty dollars; mine the same. An exchange was at once made, and I proceeded on my way.

The new steed proved to be but partly domesticated—wild and difficult to manage. About noon, meeting three armed men on horseback, whom I supposed to be robbers, I dismounted, holding my gun in the right hand and the bridle reins in the left. They passed on the off side, and pricked the animal with a sword, causing him to jump; and he escaped, leaving me with a dislocated little finger. Making a circuit of a few rods, he set his head towards the place of his former master, taking along with him a valise mailed back of the saddle, containing a small amount of money, some jewelry and valuable papers. I was now in trouble, and feared I should not easily get out of it. I was alone—my two friends had gone ahead, and neither Foster nor Frederick, having charge of the mules, and unacquainted with the roads, were suitable persons to hunt for the horse. Looking about I saw at no great distance an Indian standing in front of his habitation. I called to him and offered him a dollar (three or four were in my pocket) to find and bring back the runaway animal. He was at once upon the track, and in two hours returned with the horse, but without the valuables. He reported that the valise was hanging on one side of the animal with one end cut open, emptied of its contents. I proceeded

on several leagues to a large town, where I stopped for a day to give rest to the lame and wearied animals. My friends, G. and K., were overtaken at this place, and rode in company with me, as they had previously done, one or two hours in the morning, and then took their final leave of me. I again, however, met them on my arrival at Gaudlajara. Foster and Frederick, while ascending a hill, cut each of them a stick and hastened forward with one of the mules and a horse, laden with my tent, a gun and some other light articles, leaving me to drive the other, which was lame, and traveled slow. Having passed the summit of the hill, and out of sight, they also took their final leave. They probably believed they had already betrayed me into the merciless hands of robbers in the mountain just ahead, who would make an end of me. Frederick doubtless had so planned, being acquainted, as I had been given to understand, with the banditti infesting that portion of the country, and having had in the cities through which we had passed, communication with some of the highwaymen, looking after such wayfaring travelers as they would like to make their victims. I was now alone, unacquainted with the road, and it seemed almost impossible for me to go forward. I proceeded on a mile or more, hoping to find some habitation. Leaving the packed animals, I rode to the summit of a swell of land. I saw in the distance a cabin, and approached near it. A man came out, seized a stone and advanced towards me. I made inquiries of him concerning the way to Gaudlajara and for some person to guide me thither. He pointed out the right road, but thought it unsafe for me to travel. It led over a mountain, the same in which I had been told were a band of robbers. I left him, and on my way to the mules, another man was seen coming from the direction of the mountain. He rode up to me, and inquired as to my condition, spoke kindly, as though he would have me believe him a friend; had a crucifix in his bosom as though a christian man. I asked him if he would conduct me to Gaudlajara; said he would for two dollars a day. I consented to give it. Taking charge of the mules, he led on the way. On beginning to ascend the mountain, a large rattlesnake was seen crossing the path near in front of my horse. My conductor, dismounting, killed the serpent with my sword, and took from it its rattles, thirteen.

in number, and passed them to me. I have something more, hereafter, to say in regard to this incident, providential, I think. [App. O.] On the summit, at the distance of a few rods, were seen five armed men on horses, looking steadfastly at me. The guide said, "Lahombres, malos." Among their weapons was the lasso, the most effectual one used in their line of business. I raised my gun as though about to make demonstration. They seemed as motionless as though they had no power of action. A gun in the hands of a foreigner appears terrible to Mexican robbers, and they may have been intimidated by mine, and have thought it a less risk of life to capture me in some other place. I was not much frightened, but, thinking myself in an unsafe place, hastened to get out of it. I soon reached the foot of the mountain and a cluster of cabins, (three I recollect,) and there saw the five identical men whom I had just passed, still on their horses. I was ordered to dismount. The animals were stripped of their burdens and led to some place where I supposed they were supplied with provender. There were four women, but no children or young persons. With a good degree of presence of mind I made my conversation agreeable to them, spoke of my lonely travels, of robberies and of the loss of my money; and made them presents, hair combs and scissors, which they seemed to think of great value. In return they gave me food—a bountiful supply of tortillas. Early in the evening they conducted me to the place for my lodging. "I lay me down to sleep" upon the baggage, and the Lord Jesus spread over me the wings of his love. I was comfortable, and slept quietly and *safely* through the night. The women had doubtless induced the men to change their program of proceedings from a merciless to a more humane one—to go on with me, and on the way, at some place of ambush, take possession of the mules and their cargoes, and let me go. In the morning I saw the men again on their horses leave the place. Soon after, the treacherous guide brought forward and made ready the animals and left with me. At the end of three or four leagues, in a lonely place, the conductor, who had appeared so honest and so much a friend, stopped the largest of the mules, the leading one of them, the one laden with the most valuable and bulky portion of the property, under pretense of adjusting the fastenings of the load, and said

to me, "Go on." I did so, driving on the other mule, then before me. After proceeding a few rods, and looking back, lo, both the mule and driver were missing. They had gone back behind some clumps of bushes near the roadside. Moving on some hundred or more rods, and leaving the mule near a lonely house, I turned about with the determination to rescue the captured mule, even at the peril of life, if so it needs be. On the way I met the same five men in whose hands and power I had been the previous day and night. When opposite the house where the mule driven forward was left, they discharged a pistol, which was a signal for the conductor to bring forward the mule, and again join me. In a few minutes he was on the road hastening towards me, and now, with both mules, we proceeded on the way, and at the distance of a league, reached a fording place at the head waters of the Rio Grande, emptying into the ocean, near San Blas. It was a dark and solitary place, and near nightfall; the path was narrow, flanked with thick bushes leading oblique to the river, and the men purposing to take my life lay concealed among them. No one could be seen crossing until quite on the hither bank of the stream. When the mules had come to the water's edge, the conductor, back of them, wheeled about and said, with an air of triumph, and, to me, a ghastly smile, "I am going no further; are you going on?" Instantly two men were seen on horseback, close at hand. One of them said, "Turn, and go with us;" and commanded the conductor (speaking with authority) to drive along the animals. They had been apprised of the movements of the robbers, and had come to my help. Here was a fulfillment of the passage of Scripture—"No weapon that is formed against thee shall prosper." They belonged to the village called Argua Caliente, situate near the house where the mule had been left. It was not seen by me at the time of passing, owing to a swell of land which intervened, or I should there have stopped and freed myself from the company of my bloody pursuers. One of them was the Elcelde of the village. On the way, I spoke of my enterprise—the reason of the sojourn in that country and the cause of my loneliness. I tarried in that village two days, at the house of the Elcelde, by whom I was made the participant of the most generous hospitality. I have not time to speak of the respect there paid me, or

of the dance (Fandango) given in honor to the stranger so providentially in the village. Leaving the mules, fatigued and worn down by hardships, to rest, I proceeded on to Gaudlaxara, accompanied by one of the sons of my hospitable friend, where, after giving myself and horse a few days' rest, returned for them. The first thing after my arrival at Gaudlaxara was to find my two runaway companions, and make search for the two villains who had robbed me of the horse and his valuable burden. Among the foreigners residing and doing business in that city, were Terry and Sullivan, two of my countrymen. My first call was upon them. I stated to them how a man by the name of Foster had followed to trouble me from New York to within thirty or forty miles of that place, and how he and a man by the name of Frederick, a highwayman whom he had picked up to be his associate in villany, had robbed me of a horse, a tent, and some other valuable articles. Mr. Terry, looking earnestly at me, said that a foreigner but a few days in the place had sold him a gun. He brought it forward, and it was the identical gun stolen. "We will go," said he, "and see the man; I know where he quarters." Foster, at the first sight of us, seemed agitated and turned pale. Terry demanded of him the return of the twenty dollars paid for the gun. Foster replied, "It is mostly gone to meet expenses." He was told if he did not then return it, he should be put where the dogs could not bite him. He handed to Terry twelve dollars, saying "this is all I have." I then said to Foster, "You must immediately leave the place, and leave me forever, or I will commit you to the hands of the public authority as being a felon, a robber, and the chief of rascals." "I will leave," replied he, "for San Blas, and there go on board the first vessel for the Sandwich Islands." And he did leave, and so also did Frederick, but not until he had taken the tongue from the mouth of my best mule and ruined that noble and valuable animal. The gun and tent were restored to me; but a cane, a present by Mr. Jewett, a countryman and friend residing at Jalapa, was lost.

Expecting to find in Mexico the system of education extremely defective, I went prepared to make, or rather to suggest, improvements. I was well qualified for it, having been myself a teacher, most of the time, from the

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age of sixteen years to that of thirty-three; and having, myself, made improvements in the art of teaching. It was desirable to see adopted, there, the excellent system of instruction practiced in New England, where moral, mental and physical instruction are measurably united; and where the mind is not matured at the expense of the body; and mind and body are invigorated with wholesome exercise; and the pupil comes into manhood with health and strength, evincing skill and dexterity in his avocation. The same benevolent gentleman who furnished the prescription for treating the cholera, also favored me with pamphlets and papers, developing the plan of the Manual Labor Academy of Pennsylvania. The system of discipline and instruction in that institution seemed preferable to that of any other in my enlightened land.

Richard M. Jones, Esq., Principal of the State Institute at Gaudlaxara, in which youth were taught on the Lancasterian mode of instruction, (Mr. Jones was son-in-law to the late celebrated Joseph Lancaster, author of the Lancasterian system of school teaching,) being satisfied of its pre-eminent advantages, engaged to exert his influence for its general adoption in that country. I was particular to explain it to other foreigners, in other cities, whose intelligence and positions gave them influence with the leading citizens.

After my return home, in 1836, to my native side of the continent, I learned about Foster's movements after his arrival at the Sandwich Islands, and how he finished his wicked career. At the Islands he, with two other persons like himself, went on board a whaleship bound to the north-west coast. The vessel touched at Monterey; there the three sailors or passengers landed, purposing to remain awhile. On the day of their landing, my friends there called on Governor Figueroa, [see Narrative E. D., p. 91,] and acquainted him with Foster's character and the manner in which he had troubled me. He immediately called the strangers to his office, and said he should give them no permits to remain even a single day in California, and that they must do one of two things straightway—leave the country, or go on board a ship-of-war then at anchor in the bay. They chose to do the latter. The following day a squall came up; the vessel rolled and tossed, was separated from her moorings, and began to

make for the shore. Foster and his two new associates, affrighted, plunged into the sea and swam to the beach. Foster's companions walked up and mingled with the hundreds then on shore—(most of the people of Monterey were there, witnessing the event.) Foster gained a standing, but the receding sea took him back again; he swam and reached the beach, and again was taken back; and again he swam, and got, it was said, a firm standing; and the third time the angry waves bore him back. Some on shore went in to save him, but there was no help for him. He sank in the sullen deep, as though a "millstone were hanged about his neck." Here was an end of another of my mad pursuers. "Woe unto him by whom offenses come; it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he cast into the sea, than that he should offend one of these little ones." The Lord Jesus, who hath all power in heaven and on earth, says it. He is ever with "his servants," and avengeth the wrongs done them. [App. P.]

My informant was the late Thomas Shaw, of Boston, Secretary to the Baptist Foreign Missionary Society—(Secretary, I think.) In the year 1833, he was supercargo of the ship *Lagoda*, from Boston, at anchor in Monterey bay at the time of the event, and was one of the eye-witnesses of Foster's "awful end."

The following letter speaks of Mr. Shaw's being on the coast of California in the year '33, and gives a word of testimony as to the pitiable condition, at the time of my arrival in California, to which persecutions had reduced me.

*Baptist Miss. Rooms, }
Boston, March 28th, 1848. }*

HALL J. KELLEY, Esq. :

Dear Sir,—Such was the state of my health when I left Washington, that I omitted to put on paper the facts relative to my first meeting you at San Diego, (en route for Oregon,) and now, at this late day, forward you an extract from a letter to my wife, dated May 26, 1834. "You may say to Mr. B. that Mr. Kelley was on board of the *Lagoda* a short time since; he arrived at this place (San Diego) the 14th of April last, and took passage with us up the coast to St. Pedro; he is bound to Monterey. From thence he intends to proceed to the Columbia River;

it is a dangerous route ; he has suffered much since he left New Orleans, where he took passage for Vera Cruz, and from thence traveled to Mexico. From that place he went to San Blas, and there took passage for La Paz, a port in the Gulf of California ; from thence he traveled to this place, through a country that may almost be termed a *desert*. He has seen and suffered much, and is almost destitute of anything to make him comfortable ; still his favorite idea of settling Oregon predominates over every other consideration. He left some property at Vera Cruz, which he hopes to receive some time or other. He has been robbed of a considerable part of what he brought out with him from New England. He has letters to persons in Monterey, from whom he expects help in prosecuting his journey. I hope his expectations will be realized."

I am obliged to close, or lose the chance for to-day's mail.

In haste, very truly your friend and servant,

THOMAS SHAW.

I will here turn and speak further of troubles. The war of persecution continues to rage ; the troops are making, daily, fierce and terrible attacks. The order of the day is now, as years ago—vex and torture him—drive him to despair—drive him out of the world. Much as it fared with the Apostle Paul, who was "troubled on every side" by "unreasonable and wicked men," so for the last forty years it has fared with me. "In journeyings often, in perils by robbers, in perils by mine own countrymen, in perils by the heathen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils among false brethren, in fastings, in weariness and painfulness," and in loneliness my life long.

One of the objects of the present outpourings of the "wrath of man," is to prevent the dictation of this book, and any action on the petition now in Congress.

The nervous affection has increased—am more slow of speech—more slow of apprehension. Have nearly lost, at times, the physical ability to compose, and am more liable to inadvertent speaking. Can prepare no more than thirty or forty lines of manuscript for the press in a day. [App. D.] I must curtail the book forty or fifty pages,

and give a synopsis only of the story of further hardships and sufferings. Will pass over, for the present, particular mention of wonderful interpositions of Divine Providence, of deliverances from the hands of bloody men, of hair-breadth escapes from the rifle, from the jaws of wild beasts, from the stings of scorpions, and from the fangs and venom of serpents. I say I must curtail this book, and haste to make it ready for the consideration of Congress and the people of my country.

CHAP. VI.

I would ask, by whom do men say was the settlement of Oregon made. This question I am able myself to answer. I know *myself*, and am not ignorant of my performances in Oregon. Some say the first missionaries laid the foundation for the settlement of that country. The public agent, the late Lieut. Howison, in his report to the commander of the Pacific squadron, Feb. 1, 1847, while he is profoundly silent as to me, the *sole founder* of the first nucleus and colonizing settlement in Oregon, I declare it, makes the following declarations: "The American missionaries were the first persons to attempt any establishment in Oregon, independent of the Hudson Bay Company." "A few American hunters, not numbering over twelve or fifteen,* straggled into the country about the same time."

Late Lieut. Slocum, the government agent in '35 sent to learn the condition and wants of *my* settlement made in October, '34, (the committee in Congress on foreign affairs knowing one of the objects of my visit to Oregon to be, *settlement*, instructed the chairman, Mr. Archer, to say to me, that any settlement I should make in Oregon would be protected by the Government,) was told by the settlers themselves, that H. J. Kelley *persuaded them to settle in*

* Fifteen was the number of persons so conducted, and they were not *stragglers*.

that territory, and conducted them from California thither. He was furnished with a written statement to that effect, which he evidently intended to publish. That paper was marked, in the body of his report, E, referring to the Appendix. But it was not found there; he neglected to make any mention of my name, on account, doubtless, of the very same influence at Washington, and in other parts of the country, which had been for so many years working against me.

Mr. Slocum, immediately after his return to Washington, came to Boston; called on the late Charles Bulfinch, Esq., and inquired to know my place of residence, and said he had come expressly to have an interview with me. Mr. Bulfinch addressed to me a note, saying that a gentleman at the Tremont House desired to see me. I there met Mr. Slocum, and we conversed about the settlement; said that he saw in the hands of the settlers a book of mine, called "The Manual of the Oregon Expedition." See the book in the Appendix, under the letter Q; and also Capt. Young's statement as to what led him and his party to settle in Oregon, and he seemed satisfied that I was the founder of the settlement, and said he should so report to the Government.

In 1838 I was in Washington, and read Mr. Slocum's report; but found no mention of my name, or any allusion to my meritorious acts in Oregon. The paper referred to as being in the Appendix was not published. After several days' diligent search, it was found on file in the State Department. The following are extracts from it:

"I wish to inform you in what manner I came to this country, and what difficulties I have had to encounter. * * * In the first place I was in California, where I met with Mr. Hall J. Kelley, on his way to the Columbia River, who represented himself to be the agent of a colonizing company. He wished my company, holding out many inducements. * * * We set out from Monterey with seven men and forty or fifty horses, and on our way through the settlements bought some more. When we arrived at the last settlement, St. Joseph, we encamped there five days, to get some supplies of provisions. I left the camp and went to the bay of San Francisco, to receive some horses that I had bought before leaving Monterey.

On my return to St. Joseph, I found several men had joined the party. When we set out from the last settlement, I had seventy-seven horses and mules. Kelley and the other five men had twenty-one, which made ninety-eight animals which I knew were fairly bought. The last nine men that joined the party had fifty-six horses. Whether they bought them, or stole them, I do not know. * * * So we traveled on, and fell in with a party of the Hudson Bay hunters, and went in company with them until we arrived on the Columbia. * * *

"On my return from Vancouver to the Wallamet, I found all persons cautioned against dealing with me; or suffering any of the party, that came from California, to stop in their houses. During the whole time I have been on the Columbia, Dr. McLaughlin has not ceased to publish the Spanish letter,* which he never believed himself; but used it as a protest to justify himself in exercising all manner of mean conduct toward me."†

There are some errors in Mr. Young's statement, but they are immaterial; and, being made under the peculiar embarrassments which the oppressive policy of Dr. McLaughlin had brought upon him, he was excusable. The nine *marauders* overtook my party two days' journey from St. Joseph, and not at that place. I neither gave consent nor dissent to their traveling with the party; for I could not prevent it; and Capt. Young did not object. After a few days, those men, finding that I was not disposed to connive at their villany, sought an opportunity to destroy me. One of them discharged his rifle at me, and very nearly hit the mark; and at a subsequent time the rifle was again leveled at me, but at the moment a word from Young staid the death-charged bullet. The letter of the Governor of the Californias to McLaughlin did not implicate me with those men. My correspondence with his Excellency, Joseph Figveroa, testifies of his good opinion of me. [See Narrative E. D., p. 91.]

The first person who came to visit me in the Company's hospital, after the physician, was Capt. Young. His call was not so much to sympathize, (slander had, already,

* See Appendix R.

† Being in a hurry, I copied only such parts of it as seemed essential to my use.

measurably repressed within him any generous feeling of that kind,) as to speak of the personal abuse just received from Dr. McLaughlin; and of the cruel treatment which he and the party began to receive, at the moment of their arrival in the Valley of the Wallamet. He remarked, in substance, that McLaughlin had insulted him, to provoke to a quarrel, and to get an excuse for hostilities; and that the company's farmers on the Wallamet had peremptory orders not to give or sell supplies, nor afford quarters or relief to any of the party. That, up to that day, he had not been able to procure from them, at any price, any of the necessaries of life. He was satisfied, he said, of its being the company's intentions to drive him and the party, if possible, from the country, and *prevent* the settlement. Capt. Young refers to his troubles with McLaughlin in statements made, in 1845, to Lieut. Slocum. In those statements my name is mentioned, evidently with mistaken views about me, and with unfriendly feelings. In a letter addressed to me, not long after my release from the hospital, is a full demonstration of a deadly hate. He was one to threaten my life, should I come into his neighborhood. As has been before stated, he and others of the party were made to believe me an impostor, and a defamer of their characters. There never was, I affirm it, the least personal misunderstanding between me and Capt. Young. His inimical feelings were wholly owing to the lying spirit going out from Vancouver, and going about to deceive those who were most likely to be friends and to stand by me.

At my encampment near Monterey, I listened to the thrilling accounts of his eventful life. He did go; and in despite of the loudest thunder of the company's power, became a permanent settler; and greatly, a promoter of the public interest in that territory. He had been, twelve years, a hunter about the wilds of Oregon, California and New Mexico; and had lost, perhaps, some of the refinements of manners once possessed; and had missed of some of those moral improvements peculiar to Christian civilization. Nevertheless, he was instrumental, under an overruling Providence, of much good in Oregon.

I will further speak of my acquaintance with Captain Ewing Young, and of his engagement in my Oregon enterprise. In Pueblo, near the port of St. Diego, I first met

with him and his party of hunters. This was the very man to accompany me; because, like myself, he had an iron constitution, and was inured to hardships. He was almost *persuaded*. The last of June, 1834, he arrived at my encampment on the prairie, five miles eastward of Monterey, and consented to go and settle in Oregon, with, however, this express understanding—that if I had deceived him, woe be to me.

The American missionaries referred to in Howison's report, were Jason and Daniel Lee. I had a personal acquaintance with Jason Lee, the uncle of Daniel, and had particularly a knowledge of the plans and operations of both, during the short period of their acting the part of ambassadors of Christ. Experience and observation, and what I have read in the book of nature, concerning them, qualify me to judge as to the consistency of their course of conduct, while missionaries. Mr. Robinson and his church declared, that one of the reasons of their coming to America was, the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom; but, there was nothing discoverable, in the disposition and strange conduct of the Lees, indicating this to be one of the inducements which led them to that distant field of missionary enterprise.

Those men, like numerous others of the friends of the Hudson Bay Company, have mocked me. In all they have said and written, relative to Oregon, they have injured me. While it casts no reproach upon Christianity, it argues a high degree of individual depravity, that a professed disciple of the Lord Jesus Christ persecutes an unoffending fellow-mortal, one striving hard to be eminently instrumental in doing good to his sinful race.

Now I know they did nothing to commence, or even to encourage that settlement; but did some things to retard emigration to that territory. Jason Lee obligated himself to the Hudson Bay Company so to do. I was made acquainted by Lee himself, with the circumstances about it. When I was at Vancouver, on the Columbia, he often clandestinely left the fort, and came into my cabin, and conversed freely about his plans and intentions. He once said, he was preparing for a great farming establishment, where to produce supplies for other stations; and also said, he was *opposed to persons coming to settle* in that territory, excepting such as would belong to the missionary

family, and aid in missionary enterprise; and, he should do nothing contrary to the wishes of Dr. McLaughlin, who had agreed to loan him \$1500. About the time of his making these remarks, he received, in my presence, a part of the loan from the Company's store-houses.

The "American missionaries" were thus bought to cooperate in opposing the incipient movements towards the colonization of Oregon. Neither of them were ever known to speak respectfully of me. While on a visit to the States, Jason Lee was asked, at his boarding-house in the city of New York, if Kelley had not something to do in settling Oregon; he then replied, as afterwards, in other places, that "a man by the name of Kelley came there, without *mind* or *means* to do any thing; and went away." How ungrateful! His being, himself, in that delightful country, where so many things could contribute to his comfort and happiness, was all due the Kelley whom he abused. It was as though I had taken him by the hand and conducted him thither, all the way from New England. He knew me to be encompassed by implacable and determined enemies, both in that and this country. It was, therefore, unkind. It was cruel. It had, somewhat, the appearance of sinning against God with a high hand and a loud voice.

Jason Lee is dead. He was cut down in the vigor of manhood—in the midst of his days. I would not utter a harsh word in reference to his memory; but the living force me to do it. Deeply do I regret the circumstances which drive me, in this instance, to the vindication of my bleeding character. Faith and repentance, I trust, have fixed his abode eternally among the glorified and rejoicing spirits in the shining fields of heaven. He, somewhat suddenly, left the missionary station and a sick wife, to make a visit to New England; and on his way was murdered by an Indian. He had "finished his course." "As for me," through the remainder of my course, I will faithfully "serve the Lord." "Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his."

Daniel Lee has written a book entitled, "Ten Years in Oregon" which serves well the purposes and interests of the Company, and deceives those who read its pages. Like the book giving a History of the North-west Coast of North America, by Robert Greenhow, translator and librarian to the State Depart-

ment—compiled and printed by order of the Senate of the United States—makes me its victim. Lee was not ignorant of my name, and my devotion to the cause of Christianity and benevolent achievements in behalf of mankind; yet, he is silent concerning me—says nothing of the laborious efforts and expensive sacrifices in the lonely work of carrying the blessings of Christian civilization into the very country of which he pretended to give a fair history. He however makes a single allusion to me, and to my party, which constituted the first American colonizing settlement beyond the Rocky Mountains. It reads as follows: "A party headed by Mr. Ewing Young, an American from one of the western States, arrived in the Wallamet from California, embracing about a dozen persons, most of them from the United States. Some of them had been sailors, some hunters in the mountains and in the region bordering on California to the south, and one Mr. Kelly, a traveler, a New England man, who entertained some very extravagant notions in regard to Oregon, which he published on his return."

I shall not trouble myself to say much in regard to this unfeeling man, or to this act of brutal cruelty towards the victim of his book. It will be noticed that one part of my name is artfully omitted—the other part misspelt. It was purposely so done to deceive the reader, and to conceal the real New England man. "On his return, he published some very extravagant notions." Have I been patriotic and faithful, and represented that country as being the finest on which the sun shines; and as possessing natural advantages for agriculture and commerce, unsurpassed in any other part of the earth? I have so been, and so published; and my *notions* are not *extravagant*. I returned in 1836; and although suffering from feeble health—at times prostration of health—I continued to publish, for several years, chiefly in newspapers, my views concerning that fair and charming territory. I prepared a memoir for Congress, relative to my explorations in Alta California and Oregon, at the request of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. See Report No. 101. House of Reps., Jan. 4, 1839. Nothing *very extravagant* is found in it; nothing but plain truths can be found in that document; nothing but such, in all the mass of publications from my pen, which, between the years 1825 and 1832, were so freely spread over the States, to enlighten about Oregon, and to induce emigration thither; and to open that remote region to missionary enterprise. Both the editor of the Boston "Rambler," and the author of the "Ten Years in Oregon," had read Kelley's books and tracts, and were alike well informed in that

part of his history which appertained to the settlement of Oregon. Both were for persecuting Kelley; yet how differently do they speak of him! It might be inferred from Lee's remark, as quoted from his book, that my name was not even to be associated with those of the pioneers of that settlement.

These missionaries were the last men in the world, who should claim to have commenced the colonization of Oregon. They at first, actually opposed it. Daniel Lee, about the year 1837, under pretence of ill health, retired, for a season, to the Sandwich Islands. He left the healthful valley of the Willamette for the arid plains of tropical islands. While there, he wrote letters to his friends in New England, giving them absurd, not *extravagant notions* of Oregon, accounts wholly uninviting to emigration.

Faithful missionaries of the cross never flinch from duty. Meanness and treachery are never traits in their character. They are useful, and help to keep in progress improvements in human affairs. Their ways are above the ways of mean and wicked men; and they live in advance of the times, and not back of them, and can triumph over the powers of darkness, and glory in tribulation.

I regret the necessity of administering rebuke to the persons particularized on these pages. It is just I should do it, after twenty years' forbearance. They belong to a class of enemies who know my manner of life, and my sufferings; yet, they have no sympathy for me; yet, to their conduct is to be attributed the loss of my health, the entire bereavement of a beloved family, the severest of afflictions; and the persecution armed with a thousand daggers, following me up and piercing me through. I say, it is not my duty, silently, quietly, without a degree of the resistance my feeble nature is capable of making, to submit to be robbed of my Oregon achievement by persons having neither hearts to plan, nor abilities to execute a work of that sort,—a work, benevolent in purpose and herculean in performance, and replete with benefits to mankind.

The Messrs. Lee, at the time of their appointment as missionaries to Oregon, were improving their education at Wilbraham Academy, Mass. On the 16th of October, 1833, an appropriation of \$3000 was made for their outfit. Afterwards Jason Lee was directed to seek an interview with Capt. Wyeth, who had arrived in Boston from Oregon. The information received from Wyeth fully verified the statements made in my circulars and pamphlets concerning the Indians in, and the route to Oregon.

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Daniel Lee, in his "TEN YEARS IN OREGON," and the late J. Lee, in his *lectures*, assign untrue causes for that mission—insinuating that they themselves were its originators.

"An event," says D. Lee, "took place in the year 1832, which directed the attention of the American churches to Oregon. Four Indians from beyond the Rocky Mountains, belonging to the Nesperce tribe, accompanied some of the white trappers to the city of St. Louis, where they made enquiries of Gen. Clarke, the Indian Agent, about the book which they had been informed the Great Spirit had given to white men." J. Lee had often represented those Indians as being a delegation to St. Louis to enquire for the word of the Great Spirit—and that he responded to the "Macedonian cry."

Neither Daniel Lee nor Jason Lee, has ever made a single allusion to my effectual appeals to the Christian public for missionaries to accompany me to Oregon. In D. Lee's book, mention is once made, and that with the utmost caution, of *one Mr. Kelly*.

The late Maj. Pilcher, an Indian Agent in the Platte country, gave, while at Washington, in 1839, the following version of the story of the Nesperce Indian delegation. Four thoughtless and sottish Indians accompanied Capt. Sublette's party of hunters to his (Pilcher's) agency. They seemed to have no particular object in traveling. Sublette refused to let them proceed further in his company, unless they would there obtain a passport, showing a *good reason for a visit into the States*. Such a passport would be of pecuniary advantage to him. Mr. Pilcher, willing to favor the Captain's interest, furnished the Indians with a reason and excuse for their visit to St. Louis, as stated by the Lees.

In the year 1832, I published several articles in the *Zion's Herald*, calling for missionaries to accompany the expedition, and two years after, Jason and Daniel Lee were sent to commence missionary labors in the valley of the Wallamet. They went to Oregon in Capt. Sublette's company of trappers and hunters and arrived in that country a few weeks previous to myself. The two following testimonials will explain about it.

THE AFFIDAVIT OF MR. BROWN.

Who for many years was the editor of Zion's Herald, the leading paper of the Methodist community in New England.

I, Wm. C. Brown, do testify and declare that, in the year 1831, and for several years before and afterward, I was the editor and one of the proprietors of *Zion's Herald*, a religious paper,

published in this city, and sustaining particularly the faith and doctrines of the Methodist Episcopal Church. In the above year, I published for Mr. Hall J. Kelley, a series of letters addressed to a Member of Congress, developing fully his plans for settling the Oregon Territory, and also the true principles and objects of colonization, as he understood them.

At other times, Mr. Kelly made philanthropic appeals to the public, through the medium of our paper, chiefly with the view to excite the minds of the Christian community to the importance of founding religious institutions in that Territory.

Mr. Kelley is one of the first who explored Oregon Territory, and, judging from what I have seen and heard, he unquestionably contributed to the first settlement made in Oregon, and perhaps to his zeal and persevering efforts, is the religious community chiefly indebted for their missionary establishments in that country.

In testimony of all which, I have hereunto affixed my seal and subscribed my name, this 30th day of January, 1843.

WM. C. BROWN.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

SUFFOLK, ss. January 30, 1843. Personally appeared the within Wm. C. Brown, and made oath to the truth of the within statement, before me,

JOHN P. BIGELOW, J. P.

Others attribute to Capt. Nathaniel Wyeth's spirit of enterprise, that great and philanthropic work. They that "hate" me say these things and viciously belie the history of Oregon, and would have all other persons say and do the same. Wyeth, I have reason to believe, knew comparatively little about the country beyond the Rocky Mountains, marked on all maps 'unknown,' until he read my publications concerning it. Some time in the year 1829, he came to me for the loan of some of my books and documents concerning the far west, and the programme of the expedition in which he would enlist, and he enrolled his name among the names of several hundred others in the emigrants' book. The following extract of his letter dated Philadelphia, Aug. 30, 1831, shows further about it: "I write to inform you that I shall not return as soon as I expected, having been detained here on business. I shall be in Boston about the fifth of next month, and will see you as soon thereafter as practicable in regard to my application for a situation in the first expedition to the Oregon country. Dr. Jacob Wyeth, a brother of mine, wishes to enter

his name as an emigrant." Soon after, this Wyeth, associating himself with some of the merchants of Boston, withdrew his name and got up a hunting and trading party of his own, and in '32 left for Oregon; not to settle nor to encourage the settlement, but to trap and trade with the Indians and oppose the settlement. His brother, Dr. Wyeth, John Ball, Calvin Tibbets and J. Sinclair, whose names were enrolled for the expedition, migrated in Wyeth's party. Mr. Sinclair assigns a reason for so traveling, in a letter to me dated New York, Feb. 22, 1832: "What difference would it make to the Society, should I go to the Oregon country with Capt. Wyeth's party, if in the country when the expedition arrives." Two of these persons only, Tibbets and Ball, reached Oregon; they had no connection with Wyeth's party, whose views were commercial and adverse to colonization.

Dr. Wyeth having reached the Rocky Mountains, for some reason known to himself, and not to me, turned back and wrote a book called, "Wyeth's Oregon Expedition." It was written by the pen of Dr. Waterhouse, of Cambridge. Honorable mention is made of my name on some of its pages. The book attributes to the writings and personal persuasions "of H. J. Kelley all that led to 'Wyeth's Expedition.'"

Now in view of what has been said, can there be a shadow of doubt, or even the slightest misgiving in the mind of any candid person, what led to the settlement of Oregon? He is a deceiver and a liar, who would have my countrymen believe that Wyeth or the missionaries laid the foundation of the settlement, and that Hall J. Kelley took no part in bringing about that great and good work. I repeat what I have once before said, and declare it true, that any personal advantage to be derived from founding the first settlement in the far-off wilds of Oregon, is wholly and justly claimed by me. That was an undertaking fraught with great discouragements and difficulties, and attended with great expense. It required for its accomplishment much fortitude and perseverance, besides such sacrifices of time and property as, at that time, none but myself seemed willing to make.

Furthermore, I brought about the settlement of the interior of California, as stated in the petition (No. 19); of this I am also certain. My circuitous route through

Mexico, instead of a direct one across the Rocky Mountains, was wholly induced by a desire of effecting some arrangements with officers of the Mexican government and distinguished individuals in that country relative to the fish and lumber trade between the Columbia river and the Mexican western ports; and for extending, in proper time, my colonizing operations into High California. And I did, while in Mexico, make arrangements in part for being constituted an Empresarias for the settlement of the interior of that country.

The first petition to Congress, presented in the Senate and referred to the select committee on Oregon—after my return home from the Far West—set forth the things done and suffered in colonizing Oregon and bringing about the settlement of High California. The accompanying documents substantiated its allegations and verified every statement. The chairman of that committee being satisfied of the facts, wrote me as follows:

"WASHINGTON CITY, Feb. 14, 1840.

"*Dear Sir:* Your letter, with the extracts cut from the papers, have both been received, and for which, please accept my thanks. I hope you have seen my Oregon bill, which was published at my request, both in the *Globe* and *Intelligencer*.

"Government must soon act with decision on this subject, now becoming truly important in a national point of view. When any thing definite is done, your claims would then present themselves with a power not to be resisted, upon this Government; and should I remain in Congress, you may depend on at least my assistance.

"Feeling deep sympathy for your losses, hardships and afflictions, I remain
Yours truly,

"HALL J. KELLEY, A. M. L. F. LINN."

The following is an extract from a subsequent letter:

"When Congress takes up this subject of the Oregon Territory seriously, I do not entertain a doubt that your claim will be awarded. I say seriously, because nothing now seems to excite any attention but dollars and cents, and squabbling about political power. To-morrow I will endeavor to get up the Oregon bill, and try at least to get

an expression on the part of the Senate in regard to our title. I sincerely sympathize with your misfortunes and providential afflictions.

"Hoping that better and happier days are in store, I remain,

Most Respectfully,

"J. HALL KELLEY, Esq.

L. F. LINN."

The portion of California northward of the Janquin River, excepting some spots on the coast, as late as 1834, remained unsettled. Contemplating its colonization, I had several interviews, while at Monterey, in the summer of that year, with Gen. Figueroa, the Governor of the Californias. I was desirous of public patronage and his co-operation; and, also, of making such minute explorations as would afford a correct knowledge of the topography and capabilities of the country, and enable me to delineate its prominent features upon a map, preparatory to the introduction of settlers from a distant land into that region.

The following is a reply to a letter upon the subject, addressed by me to the Governor:

{ L. S. } "Es muy laudable el pensamiento de V. y muy digno de su ilustracion el proyecto, de reconocer los terrenos incultos de este Territorio hasta la linea donde confina la Republica para levantar un mapa esacto que de a conoser al mundo geograficamente, la cituacion, producciones, y demas elementos de riguera de que es susceptible este pais, y que aun son desconosidos. Mucho plaser tendria yo en contribuir a unos descubrimientos tan importantes, pero me encuentro sin facultades para protefer la empresa, por estar reservadas al supremo Gobierno General tanto el conceder la licencia para levantar mapas, como el decretar la erogacion de gastos en esa o cualesquiera otra empresa.

"En tal concepto, y en el de que desco vivamente los adelantos de mi patria, reconocido ala generosa disposicion que V. me manifiesta para emprender una obra tan difecil, como arriesgada, y dispendiosa, soy de sentir que su proyecto, lo someta ala deliveracion del snpremo Gobierno aquien yo protesto remitirlo y recomendarlo con el empeno que en mi concepto merece; pero esto no lo verificare hasta que V. me conteste si es o no conforme, y se propone aguardar la resolucion.

"Tengo el honor de protestar a V. mircepeto y consideracion.

"Dios y Libertad. Monterey, 26 de Junio, de 1834.

"JOSE FIGUEROA.

"Sor. Don HALL J. KELLEY."

[Translation of the preceding letter.]

{ L. S. } "Your thought is very laudable, and very worthy of your illustration is the project of surveying the uncultivated lands of this territory as far as the boundary line of the Republic, for the purpose of constructing a map which would geographically show the world the situation, productions, and other elements of wealth of which this country is susceptible, and which, as yet, are unknown.

"I shall feel much pleased in contributing towards such important discoveries; but I find myself without faculties to protect the undertaking, it being reserved to the supreme government as well the granting of license to construct maps, as the furnishing of funds for this or any other undertaking.

"Wherefore, and because I earnestly desire the prosperity of my country, grateful for the generous disposition which you have manifested to undertake a work as difficult, as dangerous and expensive, I am of opinion you should submit your project to the supreme government, to which I will remit it and recommend it with the efficacy it deserves; but this I shall not do until you inform me whether it will be agreeable to you, and whether you propose to wait the answer.

"God and Liberty. Monterey, June 26, 1834.

"JOSE FIGUEROA.

"Senor Don HALL J. KELLEY."

Besides Mr. Linn of the Senate, Caleb Cushing of the House pledged me his advocacy of my cause in Congress. That eminent jurist and far-sighted statesman, in reference to the petition just mentioned, wrote as follows:

"WASHINGTON, Jan. 20, 1840.

"Dear Sir: I have yours of the 11th. You may depend on my continued purpose to see justice done to you as far as I have the power. The object of the settlement of the Oregon question is every day gaining friends.

Several of the new members from the West are engaged ardently in the matter. And I cannot but hope that something efficient will be done by the present Congress.

"I am, yours truly,
"MR. KELLEY.

C. CUSHING."

No. 37. My moral movements about the American shores of the Pacific, as averred in the petition, I am certain induced the settlement made by Capt. John A. Sutter, on the bank of the Sacramento. After my return home to Boston from those shores, I often met Mr. Shaw, of whom I have spoken on some previous page, and had conversation with that gentleman concerning my exploits in California and Oregon, and the interest he took in my great enterprises. On one occasion he related what led Sutter to settle in California. When at San Francisco, he fell in company with Mr. Sutter, who had just come down the coast to that place for the purpose of trade. Believing him to be an enterprising and active man, he advised him to go and select some fair spot in the valley of the Sacramento, and there settle, saying that an acquaintance of his, Hall J. Kelley, had gone up through that valley to Oregon with a party to colonize that country, and purposed to return and found settlements in California. Mr. Sutter replied that he had no ready means for doing it; that he had, however, a draft on the Russian settlement. This, Mr. Shaw said he would honor, and supply him with funds. He then said he would go, and having engaged some working men, pursuant to Mr. Shaw's advice, settled in that valley. Mr. Sutter, as I was told, had resided some years at St. Louis; but after the colonization of Oregon had been commenced, he migrated, with some party of emigrants or hunters, to that territory; first with a view to traffic, and then, if they were found favorable, to settle. After a while at the Hudson Bay Company's establishment at Vancouver, he left in one of the Company's vessels for San Francisco, with a view of trade, as already stated.

At a time when in Washington, in 1848, I inquired of Greenhow for some of those papers; particularly, an advertisement printed in London, 1795, in four different languages. I was curious to regain possession of that an-

cient document. He denied knowing where it was. I, also, wished to know about the medal. That, he said, was in the patent-office. It was not in the patent-office, nor had it been there. I next called at the library which was under his care, to see Capt. Ingraham's journals, having obtained permission to examine them, with the intention of copying some statements relative to Kendrick's voyage and the land purchases. At first, Greenhow being absent, the second librarian said the journals appeared to be missing; but he would make further search. After calling several times, some days intervening the calls, and finding they had not been returned to the archives, I addressed a note to the Secretary of State, and then, two or three weeks after my first inquiries, those journals, full of valuable information concerning the claim, were forthcoming.

My name (a part only) occurs but once in the history by Greenhow; although the things which I had done and suffered for Oregon were known to that author; and my memoir, embraced in the congressional document, (Rep. No. 101, House of Representatives, 1839,) showing what led to the settlement of that territory, was before him, showing that *Hall J. Kelley*, without even a single coadjutor by his side, to assist, planted the germ of empire on the Pacific shores; an event sufficiently remarkable to have attracted his attention, and to have entitled me to some more respect than he seemed disposed to pay me.

On the 14th page he briefly speaks of me, omitting, as is the policy and uniform practice of my enemies, a part of my name; and misspelling the other part. The Christian names of all other persons, and they are numerous, introduced into the book, even the longest of Spanish names, requiring two or three long breaths to utter, are remembered and correctly written; but, strange as it is, the short *Hall J.*, printed with fair type, in a multiplicity of papers which were before his eyes, was unseen, and the *Kelley* so indistinctly recollected, as to be misspelt. In Lee's book it is *Kelly*, and so in Greenhow's; which thing indicates their having concerted what to say.

After marking my name as nothing worth, he throws to me a sugar-plum, calls me patriotic; and then, as if wholly to turn the mind from thoughts of Kelley, suddenly, with a sort of admiration, turns to the name and exploits of

Capt. Wyeth, whom he makes the hero of the remainder of his book. In describing (p. 191) the expeditions of Wyeth and Bonneville, he slips meanly by the origin of those enterprises, and keeps dark concerning him who caused them.

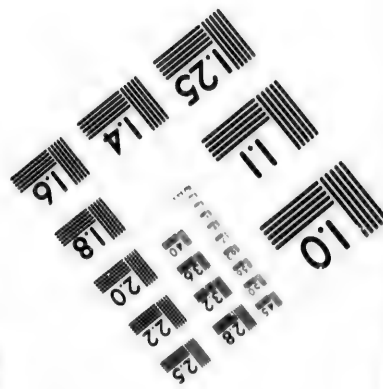
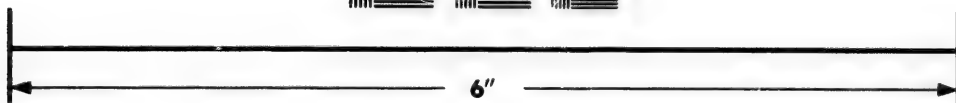
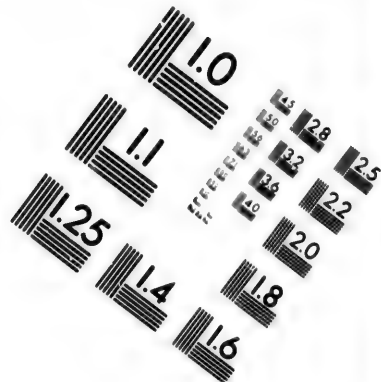
With great injustice to me, (p. 199,) he says: "The first emigrations from the United States, for the purpose of settlement, without any special commercial views, appear to have been made in 1832." There is a sentence in Howison's report, of similar meaning. The style of this and that are so similar, I should think one pen wrote them both. However, it matters not who writes, if the *truth* is told.

Two persons only, that year, reached Oregon for the purpose of settlement. Others leaving New England in their company, were frightened by deceiving hunters in the service of some fur company, and turned back before far ascending the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains. These facts were known to Greenhow, at the time of writing the book; and he should not have been so careless of my character, as not to have mentioned them.

He further says: "Three years afterwards, a small colony of Americans was established on the Wallamet, under the direction of Mr. Jason Lee and other Methodist clergymen." This statement is false; and was made to award the credit of the "first establishment" in that country to the "American missionaries." There were no persons with the Methodist clergymen to compose a colony. Of course, no colony was established *under* their direction. *Two* years afterwards, not *three*, a colony of Americans was established on the Wallamet, including the missionaries, by the "patriotic American" whose name is so artfully and cruelly kept out of sight in Greenhow's statements.

His silence concerning me is not a matter of which I would complain, farther than it has a hard bearing upon my character and fortune. It has had a terrible bearing upon both.

He might, with consistency, have interspersed his book with things relative to my enterprise and adventures,—spoken of philanthropic projects and mighty achievements,—of hardships, perils, and "hair-breadth escapes,"—and of remarkable interposing providences of God. I



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have no vanity to be gratified in his doing it; but justice demanded it to be done.

Enough, I trust, has been said to satisfy the reasonable reader, that Greenhow belongs to the troops of the Hudson Bay Company, marshaled and drilled for the special service of destroying me, and of preventing the government recognition of the claim of some of our citizens to lands now occupied and coveted by that company.

During the wearisome years, when hardships had broken me down, and sickness had rendered me incapable of self-defence, my enemies were bold and unmerciful. At times they almost overwhelmed me with troubles; they persecuted nigh unto death.

CHAP. VII.

I have somewhat further to state concerning the laying of the foundation of the first settlements in Oregon; and will adduce incontrovertible evidence in proof of what I shall state. A friend at Washington, in 1848, published in the National Intelligencer the following honorable notice of me:

HALL J. KELLEY.

Messrs. Editors: It is the fate of men in advance of their times to be the martyrs of the age for which they labor. To HALL J. KELLEY the country is indebted for the settlement of Oregon and for the fixity of our title to that country. As early as the year 1817, while filling the truly honorable office as principal of one of the common schools in Boston, his attention was arrested by the value and importance of the country west of the Rocky Mountains, at that time marked on all the maps as "unknown." With an energy and industry which has ever distinguished Mr. Kelley, he devoted himself to the acquisition of all the knowledge at that time extant in books, and which he greatly increased by conversations with ship-

masters trading to the northwest coast of America. This information he spread broadcast in the papers of New England, as well as by printed circulars and letters addressed to our public men. In 1829 he procured an act of incorporation from the Legislature of Massachusetts of "The American Society for encouraging the settlement of the Oregon Territory," and in 1830 he published a "Geographical Memoir of Oregon," accompanied by a map, (the first ever compiled,) drawn by himself, and also a "Manual of the Oregon Expedition," for the guidance of emigrants. In 1831 several hundred persons had been already enlisted by him, and the expedition was projected and preparations made, which was obstructed by persons interested in the Hudson Bay Company and fur trade in this country, so that the plan was abandoned, except by a few who made their way to Oregon, and commenced their first farming operations and opened the first school in that country. Mr. Kelley made new arrangements for emigrants, and proceeded as far as New Orleans, when the party was again dispersed at a great personal loss to himself. Deserted by his associates, he proceeded to Vera Cruz alone, under the protection of letters from the Secretary of State, and his passport as an American citizen. In Mexico he was plundered by the custom-house of his effects, which he had placed in the public stores for safety. While in Mexico, detained by the difficulties in regaining a small part of his property, the cholera appeared in the city, and a mode of treatment which he had received from an eminent physician in Philadelphia, communicated by him to the Federal Governor, and adopted in the hospitals, was the means, under God, of saving many of the lives of the people of that city. Mr. Kelley corresponded with distinguished public men, and effected, in part, arrangements preparatory to a settlement of Upper California, and to improvements, physical and moral, of that country. With a party, mostly Americans, who enlisted at Monterey as settlers, after incredible hardships, Mr. Kelley reached Oregon. Here the Hudson Bay Company's officers would not allow him to remain. Broken down in bodily strength and oppressed, he was compelled to return to Boston.

Mr. Kelley has thus sacrificed his life and property to accomplish the first wish of his heart, to be the pioneer of civilization and Christianity in the Territory of Oregon.

In this undertaking he has sunk his entire fortune of thirty thousand dollars. This was well known to the late Hon. L. F. Linn, Senator from Missouri, whose efforts in the Senate to awaken the public to our claims to the Northwest Territory are not to be forgotten. He says, in a letter to Mr. Kelley, dated Washington, February 14, 1840: "Government must soon act with decision on this subject, now becoming truly important in a national point of view. When any thing definite is done, your claims will present themselves with a power not to be resisted upon this Government, and, should I remain in Congress, you may depend on my assistance. Feeling deep sympathy for your losses, hardships and afflictions, I remain, yours."

These facts are fully set forth in a memorial of Mr. Kelley, and a petition of the citizens of Boston, signed, among other distinguished citizens, by Hon. George Bancroft and Thomas H. Perkins, praying Congress to grant to Mr. Kelley a tract of land in Oregon as a "reward for his labors and sacrifices."

Mr. Kelley is no mere visionary—a man of one idea. He has rendered the country valuable services in various ways, which render him worthy of the consideration of Congress and the respect of all good men. He graduated with honor at Middlebury, and wears the scholastic honor of A. M. conferred by Harvard University. He devoted himself to the cause of education as a teacher, and published, in 1820, an elementary work entitled the "American Instructor," in two volumes, at that time regarded as a valuable contribution to education. The *first* Sabbath school in New England was organized by his personal efforts; the *first* Sabbath school book was from his pen; the Boston Young Men's Education Society was formed by his aid, and he was its first Secretary, and made the first public address in its support. The "Penitent Female Refuge Society" owed its origin also to Mr. Kelley. While thus occupied in his duties as a teacher and citizen, Mr. Kelley devoted himself to the prosecution of the higher branches of mathematical science; having made what he deemed a discovery in the system of geographical surveying, of which he submitted a memoir to the Government in 1829. The Committee in Congress to whom the subject was referred, assigned its examination to Gen. Ber-

nard, then at the head of our corps of civil engineers. Gen. Bernard reported favorably as to its importance, and the patronage of the Executive was promised on condition that Mr. Kelley would prepare and publish the requisite tables. This was a work of time, and, as it would interfere with his plans for Oregon, the work never was completed. Nor are these the only services of Mr. Kelley which render him worthy of the sympathy and support of the public in his application now before Congress. Mr. Kelley has distinguished himself as an engineer; he made the location and surveys of several railroads in the State of Maine; and also projected a canal from Boston to the Connecticut river, and made a cursory survey of the same; and in Mexico he projected a railroad from Vera Cruz to the city of Mexico, which was submitted to several private but enterprising men, and also to General Santa Anna and the Executive of Mexico, a plan which has since been commenced. Of Mr. Kelley's fitness for these labors, Geo. B. Emerson thus writes, under date of Boston, September, 1838: "From natural taste and adaptation; from the most extraordinary experience of the work, in every form and variety; from practical skill and acquaintance of all kinds of ground and all modes of operation, Mr. Kelley is singularly well qualified to understand, superintend, and execute the work of a survey for any railroad or other improvement, public or private." And the then Governor Everett endorses this letter by saying: "Mr. Emerson is well known to me as a person eminent for his scientific attainments, * * * and I feel great reliance on his judgment," &c.

These, and many such facts which might be stated, show the activity, capacity, and power of the man who enlisted his soul and has sunk his fortune in the enterprise for the christianizing and civilization of Oregon. He has labored, and others have reaped the harvest. He is now an old man, worn out by severe sufferings, a partial loss of eyesight, and bereaved of family and fortune, an applicant to Congress for a grant of land in that Territory which it has been the great aim of his life to secure by settlement to our country, and to make it the seat of life, light, and liberty. Is not the laborer worthy of the reward he seeks?

JUSTITIA.

Soon after the conception (in 1817) of the settlement, I began first to converse with friends concerning it, and then to lecture and to write books and tracts, in order to give the widest possible publicity to my plans and purposes. The following testimonial states in regard to the collecting of information and the lecturing :

U. S. Revenue Cutter 'Hamilton,' }
Boston, February 7, 1849. *}*

HALL J. KELLEY, Esq. :

Dear Sir,—You first called on me about thirty years ago, after my return from the Columbia River, requesting information concerning Oregon. I loaned you at that time my journal, in which I had noted some accounts of the country about the mouth of the Columbia River. I also was present at a public lecture delivered by you in reference to that territory. I know of no one who has greater claims on the Government, than yourself. With wishes for your success,

I am respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOSIAH STURGIS,

Capt. U. S. R. S.

The paper under the head of "Schedule" I must here introduce, though it properly belongs to the Appendix. I am in haste to finish the dictation of this book, and to have it in print and before Congress the present session—a document so clearly and fully verifying and illustrating the statements of the petition now in the hands of a Committee. It is a solemn appeal to the justice of Congress and to the humanity of the Christian public, and it will not be in vain, I trust, should it be read and duly considered by the lovers of truth, the patriots and the philanthropists of that illustrious assembly. It was commenced more than a year and a half ago, and yet not 80 pages of it are in print. Constant vexations, "troubles on every side" cause the delay; they enfeeble my pen and unfit my mouth for speech, of course for the dictating of the composition of the book. (App. S.) Persecutions and afflictions of forty years' continuance have nearly worn me out, and I may not last to see, in print, the Appendix, the

most instructive as it regards my biography, and perhaps the most interesting portion of the book.

SCHEDULE.

Books and papers put into the possession of committees and individual members of Congress, in different years, substantiating the allegations of the author's petitions, presented from time to time; and to show the falsities in certain historical accounts of Oregon, favoring the interests of the H. B. Company, with explanations.

1838.—Put into the possession of the late Hon. L. F. Linn, were a series of papers published in the Bunker Hill Aurora, in 1837, on the American claim and title to Oregon, giving accounts of the early discoveries and examinations by Spanish, American and British navigators of the N. W. Coast. (Nar. E. D., p. 17 to 44.)

Documents showing the nature and validity of the claims of certain American citizens to lands on Vancouver's Island.

Petition, asking for a grant of land in Oregon.

1839.—Memorials, in different years, praying Congress to take possession of the Oregon Territory, and to aid in its colonization.

Petition of the leading citizens of Boston.

A collection of books and pamphlets, including the "Geographical Sketch of Oregon" and the "Manual of the Oregon Expedition." On the cover of the last named book was the following

"AGENTS

from whom information could be obtained.

S. Coleman, Portland, Me.

J. Shaw, P. M., Northport, do.

G. C. Worth, Burlington, do.

J. McNab, M. D., Barnet, Vt.

H. Brewster, Ed. State Herald, Portsmouth, N. H.

J. Nye, P. M., Claremont, do.

J. W. Rand, New Hampton, do.

H. J. Kelley, Gen. Agent, Boston, Mass.

W. W. Wheildon, Ed. Bunker Hill Aurora, Charlestown, do.

Wm. Young, Taunton, do.

N. Wyeth, Cambridge, Mass.
 Callender & Kirkham, Springfield, do.
 Dorr & Howland, Worcester, do.
 Lewis G. Clark, Ed. Conn. Mirror, Hartford, Conn.
 Rev. E. Cushman, New Haven, do.
 Rev. B. T. Welch, Albany, N. Y.
 A. McCall, Lansingburgh, do.
 A. Palmer, Ed. Schenectady Whig, do.
 E. W. Collins, Rochester, do.
 J. White, P. M., Burditt, do.
 J. Warren, Lyons, do.
 R. Elwell, No. 80 Wall St., New York City.
 W. C. Jones, Columbus, Ohio.
 N. G. M. Senter, Dayton, do.
 B. Willis, Hillsboro', Illinois.
 L. Dunlap, Indianapolis, Ind.
 C. D. Smith, Detroit, Michigan Ter.
 D. R. Burbank, Henderson, Ky.
 T. J. Bradford, Ed. Kentucky Gazette, do.
 Geo. Rohle, Newark, N. J.
 Rev. J. R. Dodge, No. 80 Vine St., Philadelphia City.
 J. Jewett, No. 229 Market St., Baltimore City.
 J. Riordan, Washington City, D. C.
 C. C. Dun, M. D., Abington, Va.
 R. B. Seneecum, Somerville, Tenn.
 Asa Hartfield, Augusta, Miss.
 J. M. Bradford, St. Francisville, La."

A collection of circulars and advertisements published between the years 1829 and '32. A collection of documents and newspaper articles concerning the enterprise and affairs in Oregon.

Put into the hand of Hon. C. Cushing, a map of Upper California and Oregon, drawn by myself from the data of explorations made by me in '34, which map was examined by Col. Fremont, who explored the same country in 1837 or '40, and was pronounced remarkably correct. It was the first ever made by an American of the valley of the Sacramento. One of the medals furnished Capts. Kendrick and Gray, commanders of the "Voyage of Discovery," fitted out from Boston, in 1787. An impression of which is given on the map attached to Greenhow's history of Oregon.

1840.—Put into the hand of the Hon. Abbott Lawrence, the manuscript copy of the document—House of Representatives, Cong. 16, Sess. 1st, No. 43, prepared by the petitioner, giving an abridged history of the purchases of Indian lands on the N. W. Coast by American citizens.

An advertisement printed in London, in 1793, in four different languages, offering for sale the lands purchased of Indians on the N. W. Coast, by Capt. J. Kendrick, in the year 1797, embracing the country extending from the 47th to the 51st parallel.

1848.—Put into the possession of the committee of the Senate, on Public Lands, a petition asking for a donation of land in consideration of services and sacrifices and sufferings, in causing the *colonization* of Oregon; and setting forth the chief things which render the petitioner deserving *public respect*, and worthy the consideration of Congress.

A pile of documents, embracing all such copies of books and papers, of which a duplicate copy remained to the petitioner, as were deposited in the hand of Senator Linn, together with the testimonials in this book.

A collection, in two volumes, of pamphlets and original papers, including a series of letters to a Member of Congress, published in 1831, in the American Traveller, and in other papers, giving the origin; the plans and objects of the Oregon enterprise; and an article addressed to religious communities, calling for evangelical missionaries to accompany the Expedition to Oregon.

The petitioner's memoir to Congress, 1839, House of Representatives, Doc. No. 101, giving geographical and statistical accounts of Oregon and California. One of the Subscription Books in which were registered the names of persons whom the petitioner had enlisted for the settlement of Oregon. Wyeth's Oregon Expedition. This book, soon after its deposit, was abstracted, I have some reason to believe, from the committee's file, much to the regret of the author, it being the only copy he had been able to find, after a diligent search, and it having been loaned him by the widow of the writer, Dr. Waterhouse, of Cambridge.

The volume of the N. E. Magazine, published in Boston, furnishing specimens of the misrepresentations from the press, which rendered unpopular the petitioner's enter-

prise, and which, with other scurrilous articles in other hireling papers, broke up an expedition in which were enlisted four or five hundred emigrants for Oregon.

The "Ten Years in Oregon," by Daniel Lee, in which the true origin of the settlements in Oregon, and the inducements for emigrations thither, are falsely represented.

A book by Robert Greenhow, translator to the State Department, giving the Senate of the United States historical accounts of Oregon. This book, either from accident or design, is calculated to mislead the public mind, relative to the natural advantages in Oregon, for the pursuits of commerce and agriculture, and for the abode of civilization. It is deceptive, relative to the late American title to that portion of the country northward of the 49th parallel. The petitioner's marks upon its objectionable paragraphs and pages, very much defaced the pages of that copy.

Lieut. Slacum's report, Senate Doc., 1837-8, No. 24; and Lieut. Howison's report, House of Representatives, 1848, No. 29. The petitioner's object in exhibiting these reports was to show the fact of his having been made the victim of each. Mr. Slacum, after his return home, and previous to the making up of his report, expressed himself satisfied that the settlement on the Walla Walla had been made by the petitioner. He had brought from that settlement, a copy of the petitioner's "Manual of the Oregon Expedition," and also a statement given him by Captain Young, the chief man of the settlers, declaring that "Mr. Hall J. Kelley persuaded" him and his party to settle in that territory. The paper marked E in the report, is that identical statement; and it was evidently, at first, intended to be *printed*, with the matters included in the report; but it was not printed, nor to be seen by members of Congress; nor was any allusion made to the petitioner, or to any of his meritorious acts in Oregon.

In the spring of 1849, the petitioner took back from the hands of the committee a portion of his books and papers, fearing the most valuable of them would be lost, as nearly the whole mass of those accompanying the petition of '38 had been.

A day or two ago, there was put into my hands the book

entitled, "Beyond the Mississippi." On the 409th page it is said that "the earliest white settlers were the Hudson Bay Company and Nathaniel Wyeth." The author, Albert D. Richardson, has here made a mistake; his information, doubtless, was derived from persons who had either been deceived, or would themselves deceive. Wyeth was no settler; his object in going to that country was not to settle, but to trap and hunt; for the privilege of doing which he put himself under obligations to the Hudson Bay Co. to discourage emigration to that country. If indeed he is to be regarded as a settler, enough has been said in my book to show as to the inducements of his being such. The Hudson Bay Co. were no settlers; no person belonging to that Company—no one of its subordinates was a settler prior to the founding by myself of the settlement in the valley of the Wallamet.

Most of the authors of books accounting for the settlement of Oregon seem to misapprehend the true meaning of the words, to settle, or settlement. With some of them it is owing, doubtless, to hasty and inadvertent exercise with the pen. The word settlement, as defined by Webster, in its application to country, means—the act of possession by *legal sanction*—the act of planting or *establishing*—the place or the *colony established*. Now, rightly to understand the true meaning of this word, we should inquire to know the purpose and object of those "white men" in Oregon. Was it colonization—Christian civilization—the establishment of civil freedom and the spread of the knowledge of God? If this was not the object, it was not settlement of that wilderness, nor was it in the comprehension of the meaning, nor as is the acceptance of the word settlement. Was not the object of the Hudson Bay Co. and Wyeth, exclusively selfish and mercenary? It is evident their establishments were temporary, and were wholly for facilities and comforts while trapping and hunting and "getting game;" and not for colonization. A settlement of a small patch of land, perhaps less than a mile square in area, is not the settlement of the whole country, and cannot be considered the settlement of Oregon, or of "laying the foundation" of the settlement of that territory. The Hudson Bay Co.'s establishments were not permanent; they were liable in a few years to be broken up, at the termination of the convention then existing be-

tween the United States and Great Britain. Their farming establishments were similar in character to that of Fort Vancouver, and were indispensable establishments—were for the purpose of providing breadstuffs for the two thousand persons in the employment of the Company, (the number employed in '34,) and the many hundred Indians with whom they were in traffic, and supplying, from the products of the field, a distillery, the wherewith for the distillation of alcohol. When I was at Fort Vancouver, I saw with my own eyes, in one of the out-buildings, the huge monster preparing for his daily work of human slaughter.

I notice in the book one other mistake; one, however, but of little consequence now that the "Oregon question" with Great Britain is settled. It is stated that "the first American knowledge of the river Columbia was through Capt. Robert Gray, of Boston, who entered the mouth of the unknown beautiful stream in 1792, and named it from his ship, Columbia Rediviva, the first keel which had ever cut its waters." Now, the first discovery of the *Oregon* river was by Spaniards sent purposely by the Viceroyalty of Mexico, by order of the King of Spain, to make discoveries on the north-west coast. Before any other people, they discovered and examined every portion of that coast, and commenced the colonization of Quadra's Island. (App. T.) Admiral Font, in 1640, made discoveries and examinations as far north as the 60th parallel, entering rivers, straits, and bays; and taking possession of the country in the name of their sovereign. In 1774, Juan Perez was sent from San Blas with two public vessels, to explore the whole coast, in view of its annexation to the Spanish dominions. He examined Nootka Sound, and traded with the natives. In the following year, Heceta, with two vessels from San Blas, made an expedition in which was discovered the *Oregon*. (See Nar. E. D., page 18, and page 12, this book.) It is evident he entered with his two vessels, and sailed up that river as far as navigable, and the "keel" of one of the vessels, we may suppose, "was the first that ever cut its waters." Maurelle, the pilot, delineated upon his chart the river for the distance of 70 or 80 miles from its entrance, calling it *San Roc*.

Capt. John Meares, a British subject on that coast in 1788, admits this discovery. He notes in his journal:

"We were pleased with the expectations of its being Cape *San Roc* of the Spaniards, near which they are said to have found a '*good port*.'"

Mr. Richardson has given to the world a useful book, one written with great perspicuity. If any one would wish to know about men and things exactly as they are in regions "Beyond the Mississippi," and understand things great and small, straight and crooked, minutely, in all their diversity of character, as though close to and under the natural eye, let him read the pages of this book.

The book called "Astoria" was written partly to deceive the public as to the settlement of Oregon. Some of its pages are delusive. The delusion is more in its materials than in its author. There never was a town of that or any other name prior to the year 1834, at the mouth of the Columbia river—never a *settlement* in Oregon nor of the 38th parallel, unless two or three log tenements, with a stockade fence about them, constitute a town. When at the mouth of the Columbia river in '34, I saw but two tenements. If my recollection serves me right, one was a storehouse; the other was occupied by a person whom the company had stationed there to trade with the Indians and to collect furs. I saw little there but darkness and blackness and desolation; heard but little more than the sighs and cries of the misery in the perishing remnants of the Clatsop and Chenook tribes, and the roar and rage of mighty waters.

The late John J. Astor, of New York, a man of no ordinary sagacity in business transactions, established a trading post on the south side of the estuary of the Columbia, which post, to magnify the importance of his doings in that territory, has since been called the "Town of Astoria." I am free to say, having had opportunities to know about it, that he did not so much as contemplate a permanent settlement or occupancy of the country. Nothing ever indicated his having entertained, for a moment, a thought of that kind. It is true, in 1822, he proposed to invest \$200,000 in the building of a town at the mouth of the Columbia, provided the government of the United States would establish for its protection a military post at that place. The proposition, though reasonable, was not accepted; and nothing further was said or done on his part. It is not my meaning that he was a whit worse than the

very best of the leading men in the associations of fur dealers; yet, I apprehend, his object was not materially unlike that of all others whom cupidity has led to that country to trap and hunt, and to trade with the Indians; and who, to get gain, have overreached that benighted people in every instance of traffic with them; and have robbed them of the productions of their hunting grounds, and fishing privileges—a predatory object, no better than that of marauders.

Most historical writers, and lecturers on that country, have given to this enterprising and adroit fur dealer, credit which he never claimed; have attributed to his conduct motives which never moved him; and laureled him without his consent, at the expense of another. They have made prevalent false notions as to the character of his establishment; and have artfully drawn public attention that way, hoping to *divert* the inquiring mind from the *best grounds* of the American claim to Oregon; and from the first cause of the settlements of that country. Though his object was, exclusively, that of avarice, yet meeds of praise have been awarded him, as though he had done some mighty thing, greatly benefiting his adopted nation.

There was nothing visible in Astor's purpose, indicating colonization. His men were unprovided with agricultural stores or farming implements; and it is evident that they were without skill for the cultivation of the ground, and were not sent to Oregon on business of that kind. While there, they made experiments at horticulture—none at farming.

In 1828, when engaged in efforts to enlist emigrants for Oregon, I noticed in the leading newspapers an article purporting to be an extract from a journal kept at Astoria. It stated, in substance, that a small patch of ground was cultivated, to supply the post with garden vegetables; that the ground was *sterile*, and incapable of producing enough of any thing to remunerate for the seed put into it; and that the experiments were *failures*. The same article suggested the way of management. Turnips were sowed and potatoes planted, among stumps and under the shade of the tall trees which environed their plantation. "The mice, the first year, took one part of the yield; the other part was reserved for another trial." "The second year the seed entirely ran out."

That article shows, how early the lying spirit of the friends of

the Hudson Bay Company was going about to deceive the public, and to thwart the movements of my enterprise. I have seen the spot of ground, and know it to be highly *fertile*, and well adapted to the culture of all the useful vegetables raised in the northern part of the United States.

There was nothing particularly meritorious in Astor's trading on the *banks* of the Columbia. The character of any trade, gain being the only object, is the same, whether pursued on *land* or *water*. To trade on the *bank* of a river, is much the same as to trade on the *deck* of a vessel. I have, somewhere, seen the principle illustrated by a comparison between two oyster establishments—one was in the heart of a city; the other, in a hulk moored alongside of a wharf. The query was, which of the twain, from the circumstance of situation, was the most praiseworthy establishment.

Astor bought no territory, made no treaty, and obtained no consent of the Indians to occupy. His men were unkind and unmerciful towards that despised and oppressed race. Finally, his acts in Oregon were not of a character to give strength to the *American claim* to the territory. They were all morally wrong; in violation of the laws of God—contrary to the precepts of that religion given to the world by Jesus Christ, requiring perfect obedience to the divine commands—requiring all men, of whatever tongue, or tribe, or nation they may be, to live in brotherly kindness with each other—each, to communicate good, and not evil, to his neighbor; and, the stronger, whether an individual person or a nation, to protect the weaker; the civilized to enlighten the uncivilized—imparting to all, as circumstances favor, that knowledge of the ways of God, which, more than all other knowledge, dignifies, adorns, and sweetens life.

The transactions of the fur dealers in Oregon, up to the time of the first settlement in the Wallamet Valley, uniformly tended to demoralize, degrade, and make miserable the Indians, and to the extinguishment of that race. They were hostile to the common interests of mankind. The trappers and hunters beyond the Rocky Mountains, with a few exceptions, have evinced a great want of that elevation of character, which, in part, distinguishes the human from the brute species; and they have deserved to be driven from the Oregon Territory with the same speed with which they have driven nine-tenths of its unoffending population from the world. Such brutish men are not identified with the heaven-adopted instrumentalities by which the "desert shall rejoice, and blossom as the rose;" and "the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord."

Their history is full of unfair dealings, and unprovoked murders. I cannot be silent, when I call to mind the wrongs and outrages practiced by them, upon their fellow-men. Should my pen ever gain sufficient ability for the task, history shall not belie the oppressed people driven out from that goodly land.

Further in regard to what is said of the Hudson Bay Company being the first settlers.

Some time in the year 1829, Capt. Dominis, commanding the brig Owyhee of Boston, was in the Columbia river, and communicated to Mr. McLaughlin, the chief officer of the H. B. Co., information of my purpose to colonize Oregon, putting into his hands a printed paper headed, "General Circular," setting forth the plan and objects of my projected enterprise. That company now devised ways and means to thwart my plans and prevent my coming into the "company's territory." They raised and laid aside a fund of \$800,000 to be used for a special purpose. It was said that the objects of this fund were to turn from the coast, American vessels, and to keep off competition in the Indian trade. Authors of books concerning affairs in Oregon, state the same thing. It is also stated in the "Ten Years in Oregon," p. 78, by Daniel Lee, that "The Hudson Bay Company possess a fund of *two million sterling*, for the purpose of competing with every vessel that may come upon the coast for trade," and "to control the destinies of Oregon." This I know was not the purpose of that fund; it was to prevent the settlement of the country and the overthrow of the Company's monopolies.

It is also stated in some publication by J. K. Townsend, that "travelers and naturalists, and all who are not traders, are kindly and most hospitably treated; but the moment the visitor is known to trade a beaver skin from an Indian, that moment he is ejected from the community, and all communication between him and the officers of the Company ceases."

Does this statement of Townsend's look as though it was the object of the Company to settle, to colonize Oregon?

To secure to himself and the servants of the Company, when the first colonizing settlement should be commenced, the best farming, mill privileges, and positions for commercial towns, he sent five Canadians to take up lands near the falls of the Walamet, the very place which he had reason to suppose would be first occupied by me. My "General Circular," then in his hands, designated the places. At the same time he commenced the excavation of a canal, in order for the erection of mills at the falls. After thus marking the spot for himself, he moved the

Company's servants farther up the valley, to select lands for themselves. These Canadians were still to remain servants of the Company. He then planned to get possession of the country about Puget's Sound; they had already a trading and farming establishment there. I was told that the lands about that Sound have a rich and deep soil, and great productive capabilities. Vancouver, in his "Voyage of Discoveries," says "it seems ready to melt in its own fatness." To secure a title and to possess it as their own, the Company represented to the treaty-making power in '46, at the time of the settlement of the "Oregon question" with Great Britain, that the Indian title had been extinguished by the Puget Sound Agricultural Association, and asked of that power a confirmation of the claim so acquired. It afterwards appeared that there was no such Association.

Simpson, who succeeded McLaughlin as the Company's Chief Factor, in his book called "Tour Round the World," remarked that the Association was none other than the Hudson Bay Company, and it was confirmed, and there was put into the grasp of the Company's cupidity that most desirable and advantageous tract of territory for commercial and agricultural purposes, west of the Rocky Mountains. They also artfully planned to perpetuate entire possession of Vancouver's Island, if not of the whole country north of the Columbia river; this also by means of the delusive influences of Robert Greenhow's book; and a certain Boston merchant's lecture on Oregon, (Nar. E. D., page ,) brought it about.

I will proceed further to show by whom, and in what ways, the cause of Oregon and humanity was oppugned; public confidence in my character and writings destroyed; myself abused and made the victim of books; my country deceived and made the victim of intrigue; and how the public concession of Quadra's Island,* and other northern parts of Oregon to Great Britain were brought about. I do it in vindication of myself.

* Commonly called Vancouver Island. This island, in 1791 and '92, was conveyed by the Indian chiefs to Kendrick, and through Quadra to the King of Spain. For this reason it was called on Gray and Kendrick's charts, and by early American navigators, *Kendrick and Quadra's Island*. It was first discovered by the Spaniards, and before Vancouver was seen on the Pacific side of America, every place on or about that island was examined and named by them, and, also, most of the places by Kendrick and Gray.

It appears to me that Greenhow, on the 181st page of his book, "On the North-West Coast," does the memory of Quadra injustice. It is very doubtful whether he can furnish better authority than his own for some of his statements in that book. The friends of the Hud-

The Oregon question was long ago settled, and I have no desire it should be discussed anew, or the public mind be agitated so much as by the mention of it; but the false-hearted citizens interfering to deceive the people, and to turn aside from me public justice, remain to be reprov'd, and to be posted, as deserving objects of the scorn and indignation of their countrymen.

They were remarkably cunning, and strangely successful, in making the public believe that "our claim" to Oregon only extended to the outlines of the Columbia Valley; and rested, only, on "four grounds." They carefully kept out of sight the best of all conceivable grounds, those showing an unquestionable title to the country extending far north of that valley, a stronger claim to the territory north of the forty-ninth parallel, or the line suggested by William Sturgis, of Boston, for the northern boundary* of Oregon, than to any part south of that parallel. It was contended that nothing there had been done, on the part of the United States, to acquire a title. Mention was scarcely ever made of acts done by Americans and Spaniards north of the Columbia river.

Too much importance was attached to Capt. Robert Gray's discovery of the Oregon† in 1792, and to John J. Astor's trading establishment at the mouth of that river in 1811; while the truly meritorious acts of Gray, of Kendrick, and of the Spaniards were considered unimportant, and were kept back, as though they did not strengthen the American claim, and were not the very best evidences of our title.

It was inconsistent to ascribe to Capt. Gray the discovery of that river; for it had been previously discovered, and often entered. Capt. Gray, as has been said of him by others, was an

son's Bay Company, either to honor British subjects, or to give plausibility to the pretences made by Great Britain to rights in Oregon, changed the names of all important places on that coast, substituting British instead of Spanish and American.

* This line is crooked, and bends round the southern extremity of Quadra's Island. It was suggested by one of the strongest advocates of the Hudson Bay Company.

† Oregon, the Indian name of this river, was traced by me to a large river called *Orjon* in Chinese Tartary, whose latitude corresponds with that of *Oregon*, in America. The word *Killamucks*, the name of a tribe a little south of the mouth of the Oregon, was, also, traced to a people called *Kilmucks*, who anciently lived near the mouth of the Orjon in Asia. It is evident the Oregon Kilmucks were among the early settlers of North America, and brought with them many of the proper names used by our Indians. The word Mexico (*Mecaco*) is identified with the name of the ancient capital of Japan. Identifications of both proper and common names are numerous.

eagle-eyed navigator, and unsurpassed by any of his contemporaries. He entered the river in 1792, and there are circumstances which incline me to believe that Maurelle's chart turned him thither. However, he did his country a good service. The publicity given to the event, excited the attention of our government, awakened a spirit of enterprise among the merchants, and produced great and beneficial results.

The fact is well established of there having been a "*good port*" in its estuary, belonging to the Spaniards, and of their frequent visits to the same.

Although it would seem as though enough is said to prove the allegations of the Petition before Congress, and to convince of the persecutions and afflictions, as terrible as were ever endured by mortal man since the world was made, yet it may be for the public good to say more about the cruelties so long practiced upon me, and concerning the settlement of Oregon and what led to it. The books of the missionaries and Greenhow and others, and the reports of public agents, have done me great injury; but vastly more injurious to me has been the report submitted in the Senate of the United States, Feb. 5, 1850, on my Petition of 1848. That report went to confirm the false perceptions of me of not a few public men, and to strengthen the prejudices of friends and to give general currency to the vile reports of adversaries; that he is "stupid and crazy," and to the sayings every where rife, "that he came to this country without mind or means to do any thing and went away";—and who turned from and against me my beloved household and my kindred, every soul of them; rather, should I say, to put them at a greater distance from me and to increase their dislike of me; for it was the persecution that first turned them from me, and to make more fierce and savage the troops making daily attacks upon me. It was a strange report; though it did me monstrous injustice and tends to deepen and perpetuate my sorrows, and though all the gold ever taken from the mines of California could not sufficiently make amends for the injuries done me and my near kindred; yet I impute no wrong motive to them that made it. It denies me the merit of having taken any part as a pioneer in the colonization of Oregon, or in bringing about the

events which led to the government acquisition of Alta California. It was a *great* mistake—I cannot account for it; but I do not believe it was owing to any intention to do me wrong. I do not complain of *intentional* injustice. I am ever disposed duly to respect the powers that be; to render "honor to whom honor is due." The legislative functionaries are amenable for their official conduct only to the sovereignty of the people and to God. It is a source of much grief that my philanthropic plans and achievements, nay, my whole manner of life, entitling me to the regardful consideration of my countrymen, should be so generally misrepresented, and the terrible results of hard usage should attract so little public attention.

Senator John Davis sent me a copy of the report. His letter shows about it.

MY DEAR SIR:

I now enclose the report which you ask for. It had somehow escaped my attention that such a report had been made. It can however do you little harm. I had conferred with Judge Underwood, who formerly had charge of the business, and he promised me to give every attention to it; but it seems, without my knowledge, Gov. Felch took charge of it.

Yours Respectfully,

July 25, 1850.

J. DAVIS.

That report was lost. It was, I think, among a mass of documents and manuscript papers taken from my house some years ago, by those who would rob me of the evidences of my claims on the country, and suppress all knowledge of me. It was brief—in a few words. I recollect a part of it. It was, in substance, as follows: "The petitioner asks a grant of land from the government, in consideration of services and sacrifices in explorations about the American shores of the Pacific," * * * * * "and has, in common with other adventurers, suffered loss from the failure of his efforts, the committee have no doubt." The memorial is here given to show that the objects of my visit to Oregon were *settlement*, and not mere *explorations*.

"MEMORIAL

PRAYING FOR A DONATION OF LAND.

To the Honorable, the Senate of the United States.

The Memorial of Hall J. Kelley, a Citizen of the State of Massachusetts, respectfully represents :

That, as early as the year 1817, he became deeply impressed with the value and importance of the country west of the Rocky Mountains, at that time marked on the maps as "unknown." More than thirty years ago, he conceived the plan of its colonization, and the founding of a new Republic of civil and religious freedom, on the shores of the Pacific Ocean.

* * * * *

Your memorialist presented memorials to Congress, for several years, hoping to secure the co-operation of the government; and though unaided by the Congress of the United States, he prosecuted the work alone, by selecting agents in all the States of the Union, of gentlemen favorably disposed towards the enterprise. In 1829, he formed a society for these objects; and in 1831, caused the same to be incorporated by the Legislature of Massachusetts, under the title of "The American Society for encouraging the settlement of the Oregon Territory." In 1830, he published a Geographical Sketch of Oregon, accompanied by a map of his own drawing, compiled from materials he had procured at great labor and trouble. He also published the "Manual of the Oregon Expedition," as a guide book to all who should be willing to enlist in the enterprise.

These publications he sent to all the heads of our Departments, to members of Congress, and to all persons likely to aid him in his labors.

* * * * *

During all these years, not one essay, not an article appeared in the papers, not from the pen of your memorialist,—and how fruitful his was, he has files of such articles to show.

* * * * *

Your memorialist passed the winters of 1830, '31 and '32, at Washington, making known to the Government by personal interviews, his plans and operations; and communicating all the facts in his possession of the highest

importance to the safety, and the establishment of the rights and title of the United States. * * *

He was traveling under a passport from the State Department of the United States, endorsed by all proper Mexican authority. * * *

Your memorialist, while at Monterey and in its vicinity, persuaded a party of American hunters to accompany him to the Columbia river, and to settle in Oregon; which party, with a few other persons, were previously induced by him to migrate thither. * * * He left Fort Vancouver in March, 1835, taking passage in the brig Dryade, belonging to the Hudson Bay Company, for the Sandwich Islands; but not, however, until he had collected a large amount of valuable information relative to the geography and statistics of that Territory; and had made a particular survey of the Columbia river, from Vancouver to its mouth. * * *

And now your memorialist, in the decline of life, worn out by severe sufferings, having lost and sunk his whole fortune, of upwards of thirty thousand dollars, reduced to poverty, and bereaved of the ties of life, comes to ask that such services and sacrifices as he has made for the interests of the United States, and the Territory of Oregon, may be rewarded by a grant of such land in that Territory, as may be subject to the disposal of the United States.

The documents accompanying this memorial, and other documents which your memorialist can show to the honorable Senate or its Committees, too voluminous to be transmitted herewith, will, he trusts, be the highest and best of all proofs of his industry, energy and usefulness.

HALL J. KELLEY."

The Washington correspondent of the Boston Whig, in 1848, wrote: "I learn that the Committee on Territories will not report on the claim of Hall J. Kelley, to whom allusion was made in a former letter. That Committee, it seems to me, has not troubled itself about going into an examination of his claim, or it would not hesitate in this manner about doing justice to a worthy citizen. Individuals who have availed themselves of Mr. Kelley's researches in Oregon, who have not scrupled to use his writings for their own benefit, are to receive liberal remuneration."

neration from Congress for what of right belongs to Mr. Kelley. It is a burning disgrace to the Government and to the Committee which has charge of this case, that they do not act in the matter and examine the proofs, which are ample, and sufficient to satisfy any reasonable mind that the petitioner is richly entitled to compensation for labors which the government and the country have had the benefit of."

Here is another and previous letter of Mr. Davis:

WASHINGTON, JUNE 21, 1848.

To Hall J. Kelley, Esq.:

Having learnt that you are about to leave here for your home without having obtained an Act of Congress in your behalf, the subject not having been acted upon, I beg leave to say, that I consider you as entitled, in equity and good conscience, to a liberal grant of land from the government for your meritorious services in promoting the settlement of Oregon; and I by no means despair of obtaining such a grant.

I am, Sir, with much respect, your ob't serv't,

J. DAVIS.

Daniel Webster, in 1831, expressed to me the exalted sentiments he entertained of the "project." On receiving my "Geographical Sketch of Oregon," and a memorial which I would have presented in the Senate, addressed me, in the presence of Charles Bulfinch, Esq., the national architect, in this way: "Mr. Kelley, I think much of your project, and will do all I can when it comes up in the Senate to sustain it."

As early as 1826, I began to communicate with members of Congress upon the subject of the settlement of Oregon; that year, I think, with the Hon. Timothy Fuller, member of the House, and with the Hon. Edward Everett in 1827. His letter speaks about it.

WASHINGTON, MARCH 6, 1827.

My Dear Sir:

I duly received and read with great interest your letter of the 10th of February, on the subject of a settlement at the mouth of the Columbia River. I have always

been favorably impressed, on the subject of colonizing the mouth of that river, on the ground of expediency and public safety. You know how we are situated with the British government in regard to this matter. The convention with England expires next year. While it lasts, the conflicting claims of the two governments to the territory, in view of the *settlement* of the country, remain open. In this state of things, many persons have thought the settlement of the mouth of the Columbia at this moment would be premature. I am not myself prepared to admit this.

But the late period of the session at which I received your letter, and the shortness of the session itself, will, I trust, be considered by you sufficient reasons for not attempting to bring forward the subject this winter. In the course of the ensuing summer, it is probable our negotiations with England may assume some decisive character on this subject; and we shall be better able to judge, at the opening of the Congress, whether it is a favorable moment for moving in the business. Meantime,

I am, Dear Sir, very faithfully yours,

EDWARD EVERETT.

H. J. KELLEY, Esq.

Mr. Everett at that time moved in the House, that 25 square miles of land on the Columbia be made me, in view of a *settlement* of the country; not *exploration*, as some seem to think.

In 1831, soon after the incorporation by the Massachusetts Legislature of the Oregon Colonization Society, I prepared a petition asking of Congress the establishment of a military post at the mouth of the Columbia, for the protection of settlements which I had planned to make at that place, and in the Valley of the Wallamet; and for government patronage. Another letter from Mr. Everett speaks about this also.

WASHINGTON, DEC. 14, 1831.

HALL J. KELLEY, Esq.:

Dear Sir,—I have this day your favor of the 9th. Two days ago I received the memorial of your Society, without any letter informing me what it was wished I

should do with it. In such cases—which frequently occur—I do not feel myself at liberty to withhold the petition, and I accordingly presented yours to the House and moved its reference to the Committee of Foreign Affairs; that being the only appropriate committee. In doing this, I thought that duty to myself—to avoid public misconception—required me to state, that I did not think that, *at this time*, the prayer of the petition could be granted, consistently with the convention with Great Britain. You are aware that I have always been in favor of proceeding, as fast as public faith would permit, in colonizing the country in question. On the receipt of your letter, this day, I find it was not wished that I should, at all events, present your memorial in the House. I should have kept it back for advisement, had any letter to that effect accompanied it. I am however of opinion, that the Committee of Foreign Affairs is as favorable as any other committee of the House, and that no prejudice to your Society will result from its presentation at this time. I think you may depend upon your petition being "kindly received and duly considered" by the Committee of Foreign Affairs; that they will report favorably. Candor obliges me to repeat, what I have so often told you, that I cannot promise you. But as far as I have any influence with the committee, it shall receive their candid consideration.

Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 1831-2: Messrs. Archer, E. Everett, Mass., Taylor, Polk, Crawford, Barnwell, Wayne.

I remain, respectfully yours,

EDWARD EVERETT.

All my writings, voluminous they were, published prior to my visit to Oregon, testify most clearly as to the objects of that visit—that of the country and good to the Indian race, were the objects. The General Circular, otherwise called "Manual," which Lient. Slacum found in the hands of the settlers in the Wallamet Valley, and is mentioned in my memorial of '48, shows further and most conclusively about them. I will give a synopsis of its contents.

"General Circular to all persons wishing to migrate to the Oregon Territory, embracing some Account of the Nat-

ural Advantages, for Trade and Commerce, of the Country; and of the right means and operations by which it is to be settled; and all necessary Directions for becoming an Emigrant. HALL J. KELLEY, General Agent. By order of the American Society for Encouraging the Settlement of the Oregon Territory. Instituted in Boston, A. D. 1829."

"Oregon Settlement purposed to be commenced in the Spring of 1832, in the delightful and fertile Valley of the Wallamet, a tributary to the Columbia."

Under this head is given some geographical account of the country; its natural resources; advantages which may accrue to our nation; and a report of a committee of the Society appointed to devise ways and means for bringing about the settlement. Here is an extract from that report.

"Among the first results of their inquiry is a clear conviction, that the time is near at hand and advancing in the ordinary course of Providence, when the Oregon Country shall be occupied by an enlightened people, skilled in the various improvements of science and art. A people, thus enlightened and skilled, and enjoying the advantages of a climate, soil and markets, as good in their kind as the earth affords, and other natural means, which mostly contribute to the comforts and conveniences of life—energized and blessed by the mild and vital principles of the American Republic, and the sacred ordinances of the Christian Religion, would be, it is believed, prosperous and happy."

"The settlement carrying on a trade with the islands of the Pacific and with the people about the shores of that ocean, commensurate with its wants, must advance in prosperity and power unexampled in the history of nations. From the plenitude of its own resources, it will soon be enabled to sustain its own operations, and will richly reward the maternal kindness that helped it into existence; and will hasten on to empire and will attain (perhaps at a period far in the future) to a proud rank among the Christian nations of the earth."

"SURVEY AND DIVISION OF LANDS.—One of the first things to be done after the arrival of the emigrants in the Valley of the Wallamet, is to lay out lands and villages

for commercial towns. Measures will be taken for establishing settlements at Gray's Bay and the northern side of the junction of the Wallamet and Columbia Rivers, and at the Falls of the Wallamet. The Bay opens into the northern bank of the Columbia, about 11 miles from its mouth. Five miles square at this place will be laid out for a seaport town. Streets of convenient width will run from the water, bisecting other streets at right angles. At distances of two squares is to be an area of ten acres for parade or pleasure ground, which is forever to remain open and unoccupied with buildings. The centre of the main street, or thoroughfare, of the width of 100 feet, is to be devoted to the purpose of a public market. The valley of the Multnomah is to be chiefly occupied for commercial, agricultural and manufacturing operations. The metropolis of the country is designed to be at the Falls. Portions of the outlands adjoining the towns will be put into lots, 40 by 160 rods, or 40 acres each; making the number of their divisions equal to the whole number of emigrants over 14 years of age, not including married women. Next to these will be other lots of 160 acres each, making up the complement of 200 acres to each emigrant. Roads as far as practicable are to be laid out in right lines, intersecting each other at right angles. It is desirable that all topographical surveys and divisions of farming lands be made by the method which, two years ago, was suggested to Congress—examined, approved of, and recommended by Gen. Bernard, then at the head of the corps of civil engineers. It has many advantages over the method in common use. It is more easily performed; numerous errors of the compass are avoided; the interests of the land proprietor better promoted, and the wide door for litigation, which often costs him his freehold, effectually closed.

"All boundaries of towns and lots of lands should be identified with meridional lines and parallels of latitude,—not by the parallels as found on the surface of the earth, where they are as crooked as the hills, and depressions make them uneven; but by such as they would be, if the surface of the ground was level. It is confidently believed that this is the only simple method by which westerly or easterly lines can be run with precision, and that it is attended with as much certainty as the high operations of

trigonometrical surveys. By it the boundaries of lots and townships will be distinctly marked and their contents exactly known. A country thus surveyed gives the advantage of ascertaining, without expensive admeasurements, the relative localities, one from another; consequently, the latitude and longitude of the boundaries of townships being determined, those of any of the smaller localities are readily known."

"CIVIL GOVERNMENT.—The Oregon Territory lies beyond the civil jurisdiction of the United States. It becomes, therefore, a matter of great moment, that the settlers have some form of government provided, either by Congress or themselves. Fatal to their happiness would it be, for them to go without the means of subjecting the corrupt principles of depraved natures. Laws made efficient, by the highest virtues and energies of the people, are necessary to the encouragement of virtue, the punishment of vice, the enjoyment of life and liberty, the acquisition of property and security of comfort and safety; as likewise, to the suppression of the restless spirits of aspiring and unprincipled demagogues, who infest every political society, have ever aimed at civil commotion and usurpation, and have ever been ready to make the fairest spot of earth, the theatre of lawless ambition.

"Whatever be its *frame*, it should be one of the most finished improvements of others. Whether the settlers are to be considered children of mature age, made free, and setting up for themselves, constituting, in some degree, an independent Province, the friend and ally of the mother country; sharing in her generous and maternal solicitude; or whether they are to be a Colony, planted, cherished and protected by her, depends entirely on Congress. That the latter should be the case, is the prayer of a memorial, at the present time, [1831,] before that august assemblage of talents, virtue and wisdom.

"Should the emigrants fail of that *Charter*, which reason and justice dictate, and humanity calls for, they will attempt to frame a temporary *Commonwealth*, and to make for themselves just and equal laws, under the provisions of their form of government, so far free and democratic as will be consistent with an unequivocal recognition of the sovereignty of the American Republic. Let it be the Com-

monwealth until Congress prescribes a substitute. The emigrant citizens will leave the land of their fathers under no circumstances of oppression, and with no feelings of discontent, resolved still to cultivate only the fields of civil and religious freedom, where life is made "the most easy and felicitous, and civilized man attains his greatest power, and his most dignified superiority over the man in ignorance and in vassalage; still animated by the holy and unextinguishable fire, kindled with that of the best lovers of American Independence, they will ever be a free people."

"RELIGION.—The Religion of the settlement, it is hoped, will be the religion of conscience and of the Prince of Peace. No people can long continue free and happy, without acknowledging with pious reverence and obedience, the laws of Jehovah; giving full toleration to all communities of his conscientious worshippers, however various their forms; and feeling due respect and love for those who minister at the sacred altar, and are accounted 'workers together with Christ,' in labors that succeed unto eternal life."

"EDUCATION.—The education of youth is the safeguard of free government, and, together with faith in Christ, is the basis of the blessings and enjoyments of civil and religious freedom. In order, then, for the diffusion of elementary and scientific and religious instruction, both among the children of the settlers and of the Indian tribes, some efficient and appropriate system of education should be adopted; and whatever will best civilize the manners, reform the morals, enlighten the mind, and free it from the grasp of ignorance and superstition, should belong to that system.

"Schools of every grade, and religious institutions, are objects worthy the earliest consideration of the settlers. Agricultural and classical institutions and colleges should also receive the earliest attention. The children of the forest, as well as the sons and daughters of civilized lands, should be taught the rudiments of learning, the sciences, morality, farming industry, and that knowledge of men and things which best enlighten, elevate and dignify the mind. Youth in this way, while yet little children, should be cared for. Every mortal, whatever be his color, or

wherever be his abode, if trained up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, will be upheld by the free spirit of God, and will be prompted to say as one of old, 'I will praise the Lord while I have breath, and glorify him while I have existence.'"

"**EMIGRATION.**—The ultimate success of the settlement depends very much, if not entirely, on the virtuous qualities of its members. If its elementary principles are defective, the result of its operations will be uncertain, and productive of but little good; if not entirely abortive. The settlement ought not, therefore, to be made the receptacle of vicious characters, or drones too indolent to pursue any honest or useful occupation; of cunning persons, possessing talents without virtuous principles; of idle dreamers of power and riches, who, faithless to good order, are often ready to sap the foundation of morality and religion;—such are a burden and a curse to society. Men of steady habits, virtuous intentions, endeavoring to cultivate practical knowledge and honest industry, will be deemed worthy of the enterprise; and such persons may, in Oregon, secure to themselves a pleasant home and competency of good things—subserve individual happiness and sustain the great objects of founding the *settlement*."

"**ROUTE.**—The emigrants will be embodied at St. Louis, and will from thence proceed in military order, under conductors well acquainted with the country, to the place of their destination. Capt. Bonneville, of the U. S. army, and Major Pilcher, the Indian agent at the Platte country, are to have the chief command—Capt. Nathaniel Wyeth, to have a captaincy. The route will be westerly, near the mouth of the Platte, and up that river to its source, making the transit of the mountains, through the *Southern Pass*; thence to the Valley of the Wallamet. The practicability of this route is described in a memoir to Congress in 1830, by Messrs. Smith, Jackson and Sublette, and Mr. Pilcher. They say: 'On the 10th of April, 1830, we set out from St. Louis, with a caravan of ten wagons, drawn by five mules each, and two dearborns, drawn by one mule each. We have eighty-one men in company, all mounted on mules. Our route was nearly due west, to the western limits of the State; and thence along the Santa

Fe trail about forty miles; from which the course was some degrees north of west, across the waters of the Kansas, and up the Great Platte to the Rocky Mountains, and to the head of Wind river, where it issues from the mountains. Here the wagons could have easily crossed the mountains, it being what is called the *Southern Pass*, had it been desirable. For our support, at leaving the Missouri settlements, until we should get into the buffalo country, we drove twelve head of cattle, besides a milch cow, eight of these only being required for use before we got to the buffaloes; the others went on the Platte, about three hundred and fifty miles from the white settlements, and from that time lived on buffaloes, the quantity being infinitely beyond what we needed.'

"Mr. Pilcher remarks that the most erroneous ideas prevail on the practicability of crossing the Rocky Mountains. 'I have been,' says he, 'familiar with these mountains, for three years, and have crossed them often, and at various points between the latitude 42 and 54. I have, therefore, the means to know something about them, and a right to oppose my knowledge to the suppositions of strangers. I say, then, that nothing is more easily passed than these mountains. Wagons and carriages may cross them in a state of nature without difficulty, and with little delay in the day's journey. Some parts are very high; but the gradual rise of the country in the vast slope from the Mississippi to the foot of the mountains, makes a considerable elevation without perceptible increase, and then the gaps or depressions let you through almost upon a level. This is particularly the case opposite the head of the Platte, where I crossed in 1827. I have crossed here often, and always without delay or difficulty.'

"Mr. Pileber, in his communication to Congress, through the Secretary of War, Mr. Eaton, remarks that in 1829 he visited Columbia river, and 'found the mildness of the seasons infinitely greater than in the corresponding latitudes and elevations in the valley of the Mississippi, or in the Atlantic States. The winters are less cold and the summers less hot. As a proof of this, may be mentioned, the state of the *grass*, which is green and juicy nearly all winter, affording excellent pasture for horses, on which those animals not only sustain themselves, but the poor and lean get in good order.' The section of the country called by

him, the middle regions or plains, he says 'is remarkable for a mild climate, a clear sky, a serene atmosphere, and a soft and brilliant sunshine. The nights, when the moon is near full, and the hemisphere studded over with stars, are indescribably beautiful. The tide water region has a climate of its own. Ice or snow is seldom seen; the heats are never great; and winter is hardly a distinct season.'

This *Pass* in '37 or '40, some years after the settlement of Oregon, was minutely examined by Fremont. He describes it as being passable with loaded wagons. So thousands have found it. It is now the thoroughfare to Oregon. Since the giants and lions have been slain, men, women and children have crossed the Western prairies and the Rocky Mountains, finding no "three years' journey"—no "insurmountable difficulties." The early emigrants seem to have adopted my plan of traveling it. They took cattle along with them, which, there being no necessity to slaughter, were in some instances driven to the Wallamet Valley. They found comfort and pleasure at every encampment. My expedition was to have had similar or greater conveniences, and would have found like comforts and pleasures. After the evening repast, the fatigues of the day would have been forgotten in recounting the agreeable things of the past, in the pleasing anticipation of things future, and in the story and the song; and pleasures from full flowing bowls would have belonged to the cheer of the party. I am particular in the description of this route, to show the utter falsities of those who opugned the *enterprise*. I will notice some of the objections which mean and self-interested men, opposed to it, and the account of the *route*, and the imaginary *difficulties* and insurmountable *hardships*, and of terrible *disasters* which they said would inevitably befall the emigrants. The Indians, say they, are hostile, and the country a barren waste, this side of the Rocky Mountains. Hardships and privations will attend every step of the expedition, and be made the suffering lot of young and old, through the first generation. These objections are futile and delusive, and are calculated to perpetuate the wants and hard fortune of many who might secure to themselves and posterity, permanent blessings, in a healthful and productive country. Let the reflecting and provident man choose the country where something more than fertile soil is found, and let the means of securing health and property, and generally, the comforts of life, determine *his* choice. Other objections are made, without any knowledge of the country through which the

expedition will pass, or of the mild and friendly disposition of the Oregon Indians; of the resources of that country; or of the facilities and ease by which the expedition may be effected.

A hireling writer in the *New England Magazine*, Vol. II. 1832, with the vile purpose of preventing emigration, and the settlement, says: "Those who reach St. Louis will find there many who have been to Oregon and found no temptation to remain there. These will treat their undertaking with the scorn it deserves; and if they go farther, it will be in spite of good advice. The people of Missouri, though a little addicted to dirking and dueling, are not destitute of humanity, and will not see their fellow-creatures perish without expostulation.—If our friends are ready to start from St. Louis by the first of June, they will have done wonders; if they reach the mouth of the Platte in a month more, it will be more than we think possible. Thence they have a thousand miles to go before they reach the Rocky Mountains. At the above-mentioned rate of traveling, they would reach the dividing ridge about the last of September; that is, supposing they met with no accident, hinderance, or delay. But there are many obstacles to their progress, against all of which they may, and some of which they must, be obliged to contend. They cannot take provisions with them for more than a few days, and must, therefore, depend on their guns for support.—There are bears, indeed, but these are of the kind properly called by naturalists, *horribilis*. These are much more likely to feed on the travelers, than to furnish them with a meal. Likewise there are owls, marmots, rattlesnakes, and other vermin, on which all who make long journeys in the *steppes* of North America must occasionally be content to dine, and be thankful for the god-send.—The country through which the adventurers must pass is a level plain, where the eye seeks in vain for a tree or a shrub. The streams only are scantily fringed with wood. In some places the emigrants must travel days and nights without finding wood or water. None but those who have endured these privations can conceive the sufferings attendant on them. And supposing the horses are not stolen by the Indians, or driven away by the wolves and grizzly bears, they cannot find food. The ground is covered with herbage for a few weeks in the year only. The Indians burn the prairies regularly, twice a year, from Lake Winipeg to Mexico, and for at least nine months in the twelve, nine-tenths of their area is as bare of vegetation as the Desert of Sahara.—The country through which the expedition must pass is precisely in the track of all the war parties that travel over the space between the

Missouri and the Rocky Mountains. It is the abiding place and the battle-ground of fifty warlike tribes. We grant that there is not an individual among them who will not receive a stranger kindly, in his wigwam, and give him to eat of the best; but neither is there an individual among them who will not cut that stranger's throat, for the value of his gun flint, if he meets him alone in the prairie. Besides, it is their rule, when they undertake a warlike enterprise, not to bear the sword in vain; and if they happen to be unsuccessful, or defeated, woe to him who crosses their path. We could adduce a hundred instances of American citizens who have been put to death for no other cause than having accidentally fallen in the way of an unsuccessful war party. Was not the last caravan that went from St. Louis to Santa Fe repeatedly assailed, and only preserved from destruction by a strong armed party of United States troops? Those travelers gave no offence to the savages, unless passing through their country be considered such.—We make no doubt that the emigrants are numerous enough to beat any number of savages that can be assembled, in a fair field. But Indians do not fight pitched battles; they come when they are least expected, and, if they find too much resistance, retire and wait for a more favorable opportunity. In so long a march, it is impossible that so many can keep together. The Indians may easily cut off the stragglers, and those who, from very weariness, fall in the rear. They may drive the buffalo out of their road, and burn the prairie before them, so that their horses must perish, and in consequence, the women and children also. In a word, it is impossible that such a body can make so long a journey, through a hostile country, without a hundred times exposing themselves to attack at disadvantage. That they will lose their horses, we consider absolutely certain; and if they do, the women and children will inevitably perish by hunger or the tomahawk. If they are not assailed more than once before they reach the Platte, then must the Indians have changed their opinions; nay, their very nature.—The project of a settlement on Columbia river has been repeatedly before Congress, and has been pronounced visionary by the wisdom of the nation. At this present session, such an opinion has been expressed by one of the best and greatest men in the country, and there is little appearance of any measures in favor of the expedition.

“We are told that General Ashley and Mr. Pilcher encourage this undertaking. Have not the parties under their command been repeatedly attacked? Have not very many of their people perished with cold and hunger, or been killed by wild

beasts and Indians? Did any white man ever cross the Rocky Mountains, who will say that a white woman could have followed him? In short, to live in an Indian country, man must be able to move with a celerity which cannot have being in our body of emigrants.—We have taken it for granted, that they have found a practicable road into the mountains. Messrs. Pilcher and Ashley say there is one; at least, so Mr. Kelley tells us. Perhaps it would be well to inquire if these gentlemen (who have much business beyond the Rocky Mountains) have not some interest to desire a settlement on the Columbia. But they are far distant, and we have no wish to impute other than the best motives to them. Let it suffice that the emigrants have now gone over half their distance.

“We know there is a nutriment in old shoes; and though two-thirds of Capt. Franklin’s men died of abdominal cramp in consequence of eating *tripes de roches*, that fungous aliment may agree better with the emigrants. It is but trying it, when the worst comes to worst. With these helps, then, we will suppose our friends have starved through the winter with the wolves. The horses may also be supposed to have been brought through the winter as they were through the prairies, by the especial favor of Providence. By the first of April, perhaps, the expedition will be ready to start afresh, and a proper day it will be for the renewal of such a journey.—That a party of young, brave, hardy men may cross the continent to the mouth of the Columbia, we know; but that a large body of the inhabitants of New England, wholly unacquainted with Indian life, and encumbered with baggage and their families, can do so, we hold impossible. We think we have proved that it is so. Our facts cannot be disputed, and the inference is as clear as a geometrical demonstration. We do not know that the prime mover of the folly we have exposed: actuated by any evil motive; we do not believe it. We look upon him as an unfortunate man, who, deluded himself, is deluding others, and conceive it our duty to warn those who are about to follow him on the road to ruin. To conclude, we advise those who have been so unfortunate as to embark in this enterprise, to erase their names from the list as soon as possible. If they cannot retrieve the money they may have advanced, let them consider it better lost, than followed to Oregon, and be thankful that they have so escaped.”

This hireling, in a previous article touching the expedition, said: “A gentleman, for whose talents and ambition his native land does not afford sufficient scope, has been employing his leisure in devising schemes to better the

condition of his fellow-countrymen. His studies have not been in vain; if his plan should prove practicable, nations yet to be born will bless him as their father and benefactor. In a word, he has issued advertisements, inviting the good people of New England to leave their homes, their connections, and the comforts of civilized society, and follow him across the continent to the shores of the Pacific. When we heard of this scheme, our first impressions respecting the morals of its originator was by no means favorable. His noble confidence in his abilities as a governor and a guide over territories he had not seen, to a country in which he had never been, appeared extremely like impudence.—When we consider the dangers and hardships which he, as well as those he may delude, must undergo; when we think of the risk he has run, and still runs, of being sent to the insane hospital; when we reflect on his certain disappointments, and the ridicule he will incur by it, we are constrained to believe that disinterested benevolence is his motive. We are informed that this excellent person has now a list of the names of many hundred persons who receive his dreams as oracles.”

Such vile sayings as these, and the reports of my wicked adversaries in high places, whose influence in the way of whisper spread like contagion over the length and breadth of the land, panic-struck my followers and turned them back, every one of them, and turned the few who had promised contributions to my funds, from their benevolent purpose; but not the projector of the Oregon enterprise from his.

“INDIANS.”—This is the last subject of the Manual, important to be noticed. Under this head it is stated that “the first ninety miles of the banks of the Columbia river are occupied by eight independent tribes of Indians, numbering about 8000 souls; these include about 1000 male adults, who are truer in the excellence of moral integrity—are more hospitable to strangers and less disposed to quarrel, than those on the eastern side of the Rocky Mountains, where the red man is more exposed to the demoralizing influences and the wrath of white men. They are fond of the society of white men, and are ever ready to appreciate and promptly to reciprocate fair and honest dealing. Nothing is more remote from the intentions of the Society

than to oppress them, or to occupy their lands, without making them ample and satisfactory remuneration." Here I leave the Manual. This document is not given in the exact language in which it was couched. It would be mortifying to do it. It does not furnish a fair specimen of my composition. The productions of my pen in 1829, and several after years, were abundantly marked with faults. At times of mental excitement and nervous irritation, I almost lost the physical ability of speech, and was scarcely able to converse or write upon any subject, however familiar. At every effort my language was broken, and full of errors. One of the hireling writers of my adversaries, in a Boston periodical in 1832, says "he murders the King's English." It was too true. I could not help it; terrible shocks which had been given to the mind and nervous system caused it. (See p. 15, and App. D.)

I must further curtail this book, and omit for the present much I would say of the good things planned for those benighted, oppressed and down-trodden ancients. (See App. U.) But I am constrained to speak of cruelties continued to be practiced upon them, by those that "hate" them, at the time of my sojourn among their tribes. The immediate object of the Oregon enterprise was *colonization*; and blessings that would accrue therefrom to mankind were ultimate objects. Viewing with no common feelings of distress the abject and pitiable condition of the Indians of that territory; and seeing them destitute of the refinements of civilization, and deprived of all the comforts and conveniences peculiar to enlightened life, I planned to found among them the civil and religious institutions of my native land; and to furnish them with a better system of kindness and fair dealing than had ever been proposed by my countrymen. But, alas! though I had studied and desired much to stop the effusion of their blood; and to stay their waning fortunes; yet, was unable to effect any thing to their advantage. A strange fatality attended every effort. The finger of the Almighty seemed to be raised against them, as though it was his righteous purpose utterly to destroy them; and thereby speedily remove the darkness from that land. To this end, hunters and trappers may have been made the guilty scourge and bloody instruments for their extermination. An *other part* was to settle with a people who could carry thither, the ever-burning lights of civilization and the gospel.

In the years '31 and '32, the American hunters seemed to have concerted together for the entire extermination of the Indian race, in the region beyond the Rocky Mountains. A certain one of the servants of the Hudson Bay Company, the physician at Fort Vancouver, about the same time began to administer poisonous drugs to the tribes in the valley of the Columbia; a *white* pill to whom he would cure, and a *black* pill to whom he would destroy. I was an eye witness to some of the wanton and savage cruelties by Americans that roamed the regions of California and Oregon.

Young, in his paper given by him to Lieut. Slacum, the government agent, states that "five persons joined the party at St. Josephs, California." Two of them had belonged to the party of twenty-five, under Walker, of whom Capt. Bonneville speaks in his "Adventures beyond the Rocky Mountains." Walker's chief object had been, for more than a year, to hunt and destroy Indians. Those two persons, themselves, informed me about it, and spoke often of the *black flag*, the *rifle*, and the *arsenic*. The other three were runaway sailors—may have been pirates; they were now marauders and Indian assassins. I will illustrate. Some days after, crossing the Jaquin river towards evening, we passed an Indian village; three of the monster men, finding the males absent, entered their dwellings, ravished the women, and took away some of their most valuable effects, and overtook the party at the place of encampment. I saw in their possession some of the articles of their plunder. The next day, after proceeding two or three miles over the prairie, one of the party cried out, "Indians are coming," and there were fifty or more Indians advancing towards us. I turned and advanced towards them; the men in the rear of the animals were with me. The Indians halted and I halted, at the distance of perhaps two rods from the chief. He was tall, good-looking, stood firm and seemed undaunted before us. A red card was pendent from his plumed cap, he held in the right hand his bow, and in the left a quiver. He addressed me as though he would explain what brought him and his men to that place. He spoke in the language of nature, and I thought I understood what he said. I addressed him, also, in the language of nature, by gestures and significant motions; tried to induce a retreat, and

save the lives of his young warriors; pointed to our rifles and to their bows, and to the ground; and I tried to have him understand that I was his friend and the friend of his people; and that my men had given him occasion to pursue us, and provocation for revenge. My party seemed fierce for fight; but were persuaded to let the pursuers retreat unharmed. The chief gave a word of command, and they turned about and hastened from us; but he, himself, stood awhile, looking towards us as though he feared not death. Turning slowly upon his heel, he walked away. Two of the party started to follow. I begged they would not; they persisted, saying they would do him no harm. In fifteen or twenty minutes after this, I heard the reports of their rifles. On their return I inquired if they had shot the chief. The reply was, No, we fired a salute; but, alas! I saw among their effects the identical card, the bow, and the quiver, and I wept. After a few days I saw, on the opposite side of the Sacramento, ten or a dozen Indians. Young said "they were hostile Indians." They were the same Indians that had just escaped the bloody hands of the party, and were pursuing us to avenge the wrongs done them. Some days after this, we crossed the river called American and encamped on its banks, and the animals put to feed near by.

Nearly opposite the encampment was an Indian village, and till late in the evening was heard from it a doleful noise, and beating on hollow logs. In the morning it was found that seven of our animals had been killed, doubtless, by those provoked to pursue us. When the party were about to leave, seven Indians crossed the river twenty or thirty rods from us. Five of them ventured to come up to the camp; the other two stood upon the bank, as though they were afraid to come. They were as naked as when born, and bore with them presents—a bag of pinions, and salmon, just caught and nicely dressed. Standing in a semi-circle not more than ten feet distant from me, their orator began to speak and explain as to their innocence; and probably as to those who had killed the animals. Immediately one of the party (of the five marauders) said, "These are the damned villains, and they ought to be shot." "Yes," said Young. No sooner said, than they seized their rifles and shot down those five innocent, and to all appearances, upright and manly men, and perforated

their bodies with balls, while weltering in their blood. I heard but a single groan. Two or three of the party, mounting their horses, hastened to murder in like manner the other two, and they were shot while fording the streams.

Now my conductor, looking sharply at me, said, "Mr. Kelley, what do you think of this?" I felt it duty to give an evasive answer: "We must protect ourselves while in the wilderness among hostile Indians." Doubtless, if my answer had not been in this way, I should have been also shot. I would not indiscriminately implicate all the hunting parties in the Indian slaughter, in the years above named. I have much reason to believe that the Hudson Bay Company's party, under Capt. La Flambois, which in that wilderness providentially came to my relief, was kind and humane to the Indians, and dealt justly with them; and for aught I know, it may be that all other of the Company's parties had dealt justly and mercifully with them. In regard to this good Samaritan, and his humane subordinate, Rondeau, who bore me for miles upon his shoulders, when unable to walk, or at times to pass rough places, even to ride, see page 17, this book.

CHAP. VIII.

In the years when enlightening my countrymen concerning my plans and purposes and the fields of my labors, hundreds, perhaps thousands believed my words to be true, else why should men whose aim and end in life is to spread useful knowledge and to glorify God, speak as they do to me touching the *settlement* of Oregon. If *settlement* was not my object, why should individuals and companies, on both sides of the Atlantic, propose to accompany me to the goodly land. Many were the individuals and companies that proposed to do it. The following letter is one of

the many which testify as to the sincerity and truth of my sayings:

"Dec. 25, 1832.

"Dear Sir,—I have just received yours of the 21st inst., by which I learn that you are about leaving this country on an expedition to the Oregon Territory. Had I received this letter some months earlier, I should, beyond a doubt, have made arrangements to have joined you in this enterprise. The notice is so short, that it will be impossible for me to dispose of my property."—"Though I am compelled to stay behind, my heart goes with you in your laudable attempt to benefit mankind. Every philanthropist will say, God speed you; and will accompany you with his prayers, that you may succeed in establishing the blessings of refined society, and of a religious community beyond the Rocky Mountains."—"Would to heaven, I could join you—go with you, and drink of your cup. May God in his infinite goodness prosper you in this noble undertaking.

"I remain, dear sir, your obedient servant,

"J. S. LINN."

In a previous letter dated March 4, 1832, Mr. Linn says: "I could outrun the limits of my sheet in giving my views, but I must come back to the expedition, and state what I sat down to do in this epistle, to wit: that you may consider me, life and health permitting, an enrolled emigrant."

I know not what relation J. S. Linn was by consanguinity to L. F. Linn, the late Senator in Congress; but this I think I am given to know, that by the Spirit of God they were brothers in Christ—both great and good men, living by faith in Him."

Mr. D. W. Elmore, a student in the Newton Theological Institution, writes:

"NEWTON, Sept. 1, 1832.

"Dear Brother,—Your answer seems to decide the question that Oregon is not to be, at present, the scene of my earthly toils; that is, I am fully satisfied that it is not my duty to leave Newton this fall. The instructions I am here receiving are too valuable to leave unstored, for the

use of the people whom the great Head of the Church may commit to my care; and now and here, I enjoy the very best facilities for securing them; and hope with you that the Oregon colony will be supplied with all kinds of useful instruction before a twelvemonth shall have fulfilled its course. * * * * * If the colony should succeed, Dr. Bolles, and also Prof. Chase, seem to think it will be well for the Board to see to the establishment of an efficient ministry there. * * * * * But if it should so be that a year hence you are in need of help from the Board, then I should be satisfied that it is my duty to go there. I should have the advantage of the patronage of the Board, the approbation of my friends, those who have the management of our religious affairs. * * * * *

"I forgot to mention that when the country is laid out into diagrams, of a township each, by meridional and longitudinal lines, I should advise that roads should be laid out on each of these lines, and worked as the necessities of the community require. * * * * *

"Your fellow-servant in the Gospel,

"D. W. ELMORE."

This letter was about the time of the embarkation of the missionaries Lee for Oregon; and is for the purpose of showing in regard to my call upon religious communities for missionary laborers.

About the same time, two other persons of the Methodist community offered to accompany me, as well qualified, doubtless, by "the spirit of truth that leadeth into all truth," and with biblical knowledge for the ministry, as were the Lees. Their names have passed from my mind. They afterwards changed their purpose, and both went as missionaries to Liberia.

I planned largely—the enterprise was stupendous, and many were those in all parts of the Union, and in some parts of Europe, who would engage in it. Companies were formed, in different parts of the States, and many men of distinction and of high standing in society, all desiring their names to be enrolled in the expedition. The Hon. Samuel Houston, in conversation said: "I have almost made up my mind to go with you to Oregon, and engage in the East India trade." A company in Paris was formed, and

another, a more numerous one, in Germany. The former corresponded with me through Mr. Everett; the latter, through a German gentleman in the government service at Washington. My records concerning them are lost, with the files of letters and manuscripts taken from my house by those who hate and trouble me.

The enterprise was *encouraged* by the Legislature of Massachusetts; and both encouraged and patronized by the general government and benevolent institutions. *Government permission* was granted to hold correspondence with government authorities of Mexico, and I accordingly prepared a letter to that foreign government, asking what seemed to me necessary, to the carrying out my designs. Among other things, I solicited the privilege to enter the port of Vera Cruz with a vessel, free from port charges, to land my effects, and transport them across that country, without liability of any kind to the revenue laws. Mr. Montoya, Charge de Affaires of the Mexican government at Washington, was consulted, and did me the honor to forward that letter.

In New York, learning that a vessel was about to sail for the Sandwich Islands, I applied to the benevolent owner for a passage thither, for a son belonging to the party. A free passage was, at once, generously offered him. In that city I obtained, on credit, money and property; one to meet expenses of the expedition, the other for Indian presents, and for domestic uses in the contemplated settlement. The American Bible Society furnished a quantity of bibles; the Tract Society and Sunday School Union Society furnished books and tracts; and benevolent individuals, various other articles; all of which contributed to my usefulness, on the way to and at Oregon.

Members of Congress gave me stationery, and other presents. The Hon E. Everett, chairman of the Library Committee, communicated to me by letter that the committee had placed at my disposal a set of the laws of the United States; and Mr. Archer, chairman of Committee on Foreign Affairs, was instructed to say, that protection would be given to any settlement which I might make in Oregon; and a passport such as is usually given to ministers plenipotentiary, for use in traveling in foreign countries, was ordered by the President, and endorsed by Mr. Montoya and other proper Mexican authorities, both at

New Orleans and Vera Cruz. Though powerfully oppugned, it was not a little encouraged by *members and committees of Congress*, and by the *heads* of some of the *executive departments*; and my hands were strengthened by many true-hearted and public-spirited citizens.

In lectures, newspaper articles, books and tracts, and in every possible way I labored to arouse my countrymen to a just sense of the wants of Oregon, and to induce a *settlement* of that goodly land, and so redeem it from the moral and physical degradation which overshadowed it. In confirmation of this, I will introduce the publicly expressed opinions of a few individuals, out of the many who have testified and can testify to the same import.

THE AFFIDAVIT OF MR. WHEILDON,

Editor of that long-established paper, the Bunker Hill Aurora, and Boston Mirror.

I, William W. Wheildon, of Charlestown, Massachusetts, testify, that I became acquainted with H^Y J. Kelley, Esq., sometime in the year 1827 or 1828, and that he was at that time, and subsequently, much engaged in talking, writing, and lecturing on the subject of Oregon, and a settlement of that Territory. His time, as it appeared to me, was all devoted to the object of disseminating information on the subject, and by various ways, of endeavoring to effect a colonization of the Territory. He wrote a plan of colonization, including a description of the country, soil, climate, advantages to those who are disposed to emigrate, &c., which was printed for him in my office. I knew no other person connected or interested with him, and the work was done for him solely. It is my opinion that he labored altogether alone; and to him is due, as I have cause to believe, the merit of awakening, exciting and interesting the public mind on this subject, and effecting a settlement of the Oregon Territory.

WM. W. WHEILDON.

MIDDLESEX, ss. Jan. 26, 1843. Personally appeared the above-named William W. Wheildon, and made solemn oath that the above declaration by him subscribed, is true.
Before me, H. N. PERKINS, J. P.

HON. JOHN P. BIGELOW.

Boston, January 26, 1843.

To all whom it may concern:

I hereby certify, that I am well acquainted with Mr. Hall J. Kelley, and that I was associated with him in teaching one of the public schools of this city, in the year 1820. He had then conceived the project of colonizing the Oregon Territory. It was a subject upon which he frequently conversed with much zeal and earnestness of manner. From the years 1828 to 1832, he appeared to devote his whole time and means to the purpose of disseminating throughout the country, information concerning that region, together with his plan for its colonization, avowing it to be his dearest wish to improve the condition, moral, religious and physical, of the native population of the Oregon Territory, and to secure to the people of the United States, the benefits which he expected would result from the settlement of that country. In fact, Mr. Kelley may be said, with truth, to have devoted his life, health, and property, for more than twenty years, to the colonization of Oregon. He has suffered much, very much, in every respect, in his endeavors to promote this object, and is entitled, richly, to the gratitude of his country, for his devotion to the noble cause.

JOHN P. BIGELOW,

*Late Secretary of Massachusetts.**Later Mayor of Boston.*

SAMUEL WALKER, ESQ.,

Coun. ellor at Law, and a Gentleman of great literary attainments.

I Samuel Walker, of Charlestown, in the State of Massachusetts, aged seventy-five years, do on oath testify and say that, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-three, I first became acquainted with Mr. Hall J. Kelley, and was employed as his assistant in one of the public grammar schools in Boston. We often had conversation concerning the Oregon Territory. He appeared to possess a more accurate knowledge of the Oregon country than any other man of whom I had read or heard. He expressed to me his opinion that the great natural advantages of the country for commercial and

agricultural operations, ought not longer to remain unimproved. He declared his intention to colonize it. He was then engaged in this work with uncommon zeal and perseverance. This enterprise, in my opinion, was philanthropic, as he seemed to calculate more on its beneficial results to the country and to mankind, than to himself; and that the credit of originating the colonizing the Oregon country, is undoubtedly due to Mr. Kelley.

SAM. WALKER.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

MIDDLESEX, ss, Charlestown, January 26, 1843. Personally appeared the above-named Samuel Walker, and made oath that the above declaration by him subscribed, is true. Before me,

H. N. PERKINS, J. P.

For said County.

WASHINGTON P. GREGG, ESQ.,

Secretary to the Common Council of the City of Boston.

I, W. P. Gregg, of Boston, do hereby testify, that Mr. Hall J. Kelley, about 1829, obtained from the State of Massachusetts, the enactment of a law incorporating a society entitled "The American Society for the Encouragement of the Settlement of the Oregon Territory."

Gen. John McNeil, John L. Blake, D. D., and myself, were among the officers chosen at its organization. Mr. Kelley was constituted the general agent. The object of this Society was to aid Mr. K. in his praiseworthy and patriotic attempts to colonize the Oregon Territory. Public opinion was turned against the enterprise, so that the Society was not able to render Mr. K. all the encouragement and assistance his cause seemed to deserve. With a view of diffusing a knowledge of the Oregon Territory and of his enterprise, he sent circulars and paraphlets into all parts of the Union, and obtained the names of a great number of persons who, with their families, approved his plans, and proposed to go with him in an expedition under a military organization, to settle on the banks of the Columbia river. Nathaniel Wyeth, of Cambridge, and Captain Bonneville, of the U. S. Army, were both, I believe, enrolled in the emigration books, and were both to have command in the expedition. The contemplated route of

the emigrants, I understood to be, from St. Louis to the Platte, and thence from some point near the source of that river, through a low depression in the Rocky Mountains.

Mr. Kelley often stated to the Society, that individuals and associations, whose trading interests on the coast and in the interior of the Oregon, were in conflict with the ultimate objects of his enterprise, were not only unfriendly to his plans, but that they had enlisted on their side some of the most influential public journals.

These newspapers and periodicals, represented his plans as being injudicious and impracticable, and his accounts of Oregon fallacious. Public obloquy was cast upon him from all sides. His friends left him, and the expedition was broken up.

W. P. GREGG.

SUFFOLK, ss. Boston, January 31, 1843. Then the above-named Washington P. Gregg, personally appeared and made oath that the above by him subscribed in my presence is, to his best knowledge and belief, true. Before

WM. TUFTS, J. P.

Boston, Dec. 23, 1847.

We, the subscribers, have for many years, known Hall J. Kelley, Esq., and have been familiar with his ardent efforts and generous devotion of his time, his talents, and his property, to direct the public attention and the tide of emigration towards the Oregon Territory. He was the first pioneer in this matter, and for a long series of years, persevering "through evil report and good report," succeeded at last, although at the sacrifice of his own fortune and health, in rescuing the Oregon from the sole occupancy of hunters and trappers, and bringing to it, the benefit of regular colonization.

He has petitioned Congress for the grant of a tract of land in that region, and we respectfully pray that Congress will give to that petition an early, a favorable and generous answer.

J. McNEIL, Surveyor of the Port.

JOSEPH HALL, Navy Agent.

W. P. GREGG, Clerk of City Council.

ISAAC O. BARNES, U. S. Marshal.

P. P. F. DEGRAND.

Gen. McNeil is Surveyor of the Port Customs, Boston, and was President of the American Society for Encouraging the Colonization of the Oregon Territory.

P. P. F. Degrand, Esq., a gentleman of science and public enterprise.

PETITION OF THE CITIZENS OF BOSTON.

To the Hon. the Senate of the U. S. :

The subscribers, citizens of Boston, believing that Mr. Hall J. Kelley has expended a large amount of both time and money, and greatly injured his health, in efforts to establish settlements in the Oregon Territory, feel a strong desire that his labors and sacrifices may be in some way rewarded; and having learned that he has petitioned Congress for a grant of land in that Territory, they respectfully and earnestly pray that his petition may be favorably received and the prayer thereof granted.

Among the signatures to this petition were the names of T. H. PERKINS and GEORGE BANCROFT.

There were many signers to this petition, but few of their names are recollected.

Indeed, much credit is due me for *explorations*. I explored portions of the countries through which I passed on my way to and from Oregon, particularly the two Californias and Oregon, and delineated a map of the same, as has already been stated. See memoir to Congress, January, 1839—House of Reps., Doc. No. 101. I found gold, silver and copper, and other of the precious metals, in Lower California, and believed they could be found in abundance in both the Californias and Oregon. They had been thrown, according to my theory, from the bowels of the earth through the cones—volcanic chimneys as they are called—which surmount the Sierra Nevada, and other mountains of those countries. More correctly it may be said, at the time of that terrible catastrophe, when those cones were formed, when the surface of the earth was everywhere blistering and bursting, and when, by the mighty expansive power of steam, the whole surface of the globe was broken up, the hills and mountains piled up and the plains spread out, the mineral deposits, as I think, in the strata composing the crust of the earth, according to their respective specific gravities, “the greater the gravity the lower down,” were thrown up and were diffused about the ground in

the vicinity of the cone. I found gold and copper in Lower California, and believed these and other precious metals were to be found in Upper California: that they had been thrown from the bowels of the earth through the volcanic crater. I brought home specimens of them. Also did I discover the oil of petroleum near Santa Barbara, and there, and in other parts of the country, asphaltum and bitumen. [See App. W.]

I also, cursorily, explored some of the Sandwich Islands, particularly Owyhee, of which I constructed a map. My kind and noble-hearted countryman, Henry A. Pierce, Esq., resident at Honolulu and largely engaged in the commerce of the Pacific, furnished me with facilities and all necessary means of making my examination of them. Mr. Pierce was not the only countryman to whom I am much indebted for favors and kind attentions while on my way to and from the American shores of the Pacific. My card in reference to them will be found in the Appendix of this book.

During the sea voyage of six months on board the ship Canton Packet, every fair day and moonlight night, my attention was turned to explorations of the starry heavens, and the abstruse regions of science; and all the while continued to study the book of nature, and that interesting little book ever in my hand, open and read with intense desire to know God and his handiworks.

Further in regard to *settlement* and *explorations*. The President of the New York Central College, on the receipt of a package of books and documents, and in view of the wrong perceptions of deceived and prejudiced public men, and of the wrongs and cruelties everywhere practiced upon me, wrote me the following consoling and comforting letters:

NEW YORK CENTRAL COLLEGE,
McGrawville, Cort. Co., N. Y., Feb. 12, 1866. }
HALL J. KELLEY, Esq.:

Very highly esteemed and dear Sir,—I have read your pamphlets with great interest, and thank you for them. If you shall forward more, they will increase my thanks. Every ingenuous mind in America, while informed of the facts in your history, will accord to you the great honor of having hastened the settlement of Oregon several years, and of having aided in securing that territory to our country. Moreover, we have to thank you for having asserted the right of the red man to be dealt with as a man, in worthy opposition to the injustice, meanness and cruelty of those who had preceded you to the shores of

the Pacific. The proof is too strong for doubt, that the Hudson Bay Company did all in their power to enrich themselves out of the Aborigines, and to secure that vast country to the government of Great Britain; and to do these things, they did not scruple to blast the reputation of any one who presumed to counteract their endeavors. That corporations are soulless, has never been more emphatically demonstrated than by the transactions of that Company and the East India Company, the officers and agents of which were long applauded by the stockholders and others enriched by them in dishonest traffic and bloody robberies. Shrewd and successful mendacity became an illustrious virtue, and defamation of the best of men was only one necessary form of falsification.

After Great Britain had received into her lap hundreds of millions sterling, through the flagitious agency of such Governors as Lord Clive and Warren Hastings, their names grew so offensive in the nostrils of the world, that the abatement of the nuisance became a necessity, and the East India Company was deprived of its charter. The Hudson Bay Company's transactions have been less notorious, because their victims were no other than the reputed "savage," in whose extermination nearly the entire world of white men acquiesce without any conscientious convictions of rapine and murder. In this, Americans are more guilty than even the British, and Hall J. Kelley acted the part of a just man and a christian, in his attempt to protect those who had fallen among thieves, from further outrages. That for so praiseworthy conduct he incurred the malicious vengeance of the guilty is not surprising, but evinces the verity of *His* declaration, whose wrath is burning upon the perpetrators of oppression—"Blessed are ye when men shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake." When, after my return from Europe, I found and read the letter of I. Harrington, Esq., written three years ago, about your deed of land to us, the sight of your name reminded me pleasantly of your person, and the interview with which you favored me about the year 1828 or '29, in Boston, I being at "that time pastor of the First Baptist Church" there. I well remember the deep interest you expressed in a colonizing of Oregon, then an almost unknown region. I remember too, that, by reason of your great advance of all others in a knowledge of that country, your scheme was generally regarded as visionary, just as it always happens in like cases. Dullards, while too ignorant to judge and too indolent to inform themselves, or too conceited to admit knowledge when knocking at their doors, are always sufficiently aroused

and quickened by the well-grounded zeal of the knowing, to dream that what they hear is delusive, and so they laugh at the novel scheme, until, by the laudable perseverance of its enlightened originator, it is proved to be sound and profitable. Then, if possible, they will thrust in their sickle where they never sowed, but trample on the seed sown by others. I believe you have been grossly misrepresented and egregiously wronged.

It gratified me much to read your words that "those things have ceased to trouble" you. Permit your friend, therefore, to hope that you will not condescend to honor *them* by any other notice than to point them to the results of your early and meritorious efforts. Your strong and vigorous spirit has broken the green withes and is free. Instead of pondering gloomily on the misdeeds of the ignorant and selfish assailants of your fair fame, will you not think much and pleasurably of the success of your self-denying labors, and of the benefits reaped by your country? I cannot doubt that if a knowledge of the *simple facts* of your case were now to be communicated to our Congress by your yet vigorous pen, and seconded by only a few of your long-tried, faithful friends, with that enlightened legislature, the appeal would not be fruitless.

I trust that your reflections on the part you have acted in the settlement of the western portion of the continent are a source of pleasure to you, and will continue to be the remainder of your life. It is gratifying to me that you are disposed to take the "*lead*" in making application to Congress for a reviewal and admission of your claim, and that of ourselves and others interested.

God grant you health and abundant vigor and joy.

Ever yours with great respect, faithfully,

CYRUS P. GROSVENOR,

President N. Y. Central College.

AN EXTRACT FROM A SUBSEQUENT LETTER.

FEB. 28th, 1866.

HALL J. KELLEY, Esq.:

My Dear Sir:—Your letter of the 24th inst., desiring to receive an acknowledgment of the documents forwarded by you, I have carefully examined them, and find a large amount of interesting matter. The labor bestowed by you in preparing the "Geographical Sketch" was very great, and ought manifestly to have been rewarded amply by Congress, in response to your

memorial. No one can read the sketch and compare "your map" with maps of more recent date without being surprised at your successful investigations into that vast and, at that time, almost unknown country. Your estimation of its value to the United States, and your *prophecies* of what has already been proved of its importance, evince a wonderful scope of intellectual ability; and the moral sentiments you inculcated respecting the character which ought to characterize the colonists, and towards the Aborigines, do you the highest honor. However painful and injurious to you has been the ingratitude you have experienced, one thing is certain, the name of Hall J. Kelley will be honored in history, and his calumniators will be unequivocally condemned. God is your portion, infamy is theirs. Rest assured of this.

A memorial to Congress on your behalf ought, without further delay, to be prepared, and ought to bear the signatures of thousands, especially of the citizens of New England — Massachusetts in particular. As a native of that State, I would esteem myself honored in placing my humble name with others beneath such memorial, whatever may be the fate of your claim to the lands made yours by the deed of the heirs of Kendrick.

Yours, respectfully, &c.,

C. P. GROSVENOR.

I will return to the expedition. I had secured the pledge from wealthy and benevolent citizens for funds sufficient for the accomplishment of the undertaking, and five hundred or more persons from all parts of the Union were soon to rendezvous at St. Louis, and I thought I was about to achieve the great objects for which I had so long and unceasingly labored. It is true, I had been opposed from the beginning by powerful and interested individuals; but now, that my designs appeared on the very point of completion, opposition became more desperate and determined.

No efforts were spared to disable me for further progress, and to discourage and break up the expedition. This they accomplished to their satisfaction, and high overwhelmed me, also.

The enterprise contemplated great blessings to mankind — blessings which are beginning to be realized half the world over. Unopposed, I should, doubtless, crossed the

Rocky Mountains as early as '32, with, perhaps, 2000 emigrants gathered from all parts of civilization, and with everything necessary for putting at once into successful operation the various business of enlightened and refined life, and for hastening the spread of the knowledge of the glory of God; and as early as '35 the tide of emigration would have begun to flow down into the valley of the Sacramento, and the acquisition of Upper California to the American domain would have followed in the natural order of things, without the expense of a drop of blood or a dollar of money. Unopposed, the railroad projected by me, nearly fifty years ago, to communicate between the valley of the Mississippi and the shore of the Pacific, (reference to that project is made in my Geographical Sketch of Oregon, and in the memoir to Congress in 1839, relative to the statistics and topography of that country, the same in plan as that urged by Mr. Whitney, of New York, in 1840, upon the consideration of Congress,) would, I think, have been graded from one end to the other, and Oregon would have teemed with a population from our own blest country, and the whole wilderness between the parallels 31 and 54, dark as it was, ere this day, would have been changed to shining fields and flowerly gardens; and society there would have been dressed in lovely attire, and robed in charms of moral beauty.

Things would have been in that country more than twenty years in advance of what they now are, and Quadra's Island would have continued to be an integral part of the American domain, and greater would have been the triumph of Christianity.

Had my plans been unopposed, and carried out under government auspices, that territory, very soon after the settlement of the Oregon question with Great Britain, would have been States of high rank in the Union, and the pride of the Nation.

I do most deeply regret the success of the opposers of my efforts in behalf of my country and humanity. I am no prophet, but can see, I think, indications in the movement of Divine Providence, for the prosperity and greatness of California and Oregon. A mild and salubrious climate, exuberant productions, and natural advantages for trade and commerce, conspire to make those countries prosperous and great. I am led to believe that Christianity is about to

do wonderful things for our race, such as it has not entered the hearts of infidels to conceive of—that the light of truth is about to increase to a glorious effulgence. That the heathen, all nations, tongues and tribes of them, are soon to become “the inheritance of Christ,” and “the uttermost parts of the earth His possession,” and the “will of God be done on earth as it is done in Heaven,” and the seventh day, the day of rest, to come, and the whole earth to be filled with a knowledge of God, and all nations to be free and happy.

I was brought into life, raised up, and divinely appointed to do the very things I conceived and did for Oregon. In the year 1817 “the word came expressly to me” to go and labor in fields of philanthropic enterprise, and promote the propagation of Christianity in the dark and cruel places about the shores of the Pacific. “I speak the truth in Christ Jesus, and lie not.” In my youth the Lord Jesus revealed to me in visions the lonely, laborious and eventful life I was to live; and gave at the time of the visions, and afterwards, *unmistakable signs* that the revelations were by Him, and I have lived exactly that manner of life. [See App. W.]

I had purposed to introduce here a chapter under the head of *Things Providential*, but being in haste to get the book in the hands of my friends in Congress, I must refer the entire subject to the appendix. [App. X.]

Some of my skeptical friends, who never examined my works, nor the “fruit of the Spirit,” say to me, “you *talk too much* in your book about religion. You will expose yourself to public ridicule.” My reply to them is, You *think too little* about religion. “I am not ashamed to own my Lord.” “I glory in this, that I know God,” and “know Christ Jesus and Him crucified;” and am a “servant of Christ according to the will of God.”

While yet in Oregon, about the time of embarkation for home, I planned to return to that country, and form a settlement at New Dergeness. This place is on the south side of De Fuca’s Sea, and on the westerly side of Port Discovery. It is admirably situated, and in every way convenient for whale fishery, or of fishing craft of any kind. Any such vessels from the sea can, in any season of the year, safely enter the harbor, and can here repair and find supplies of provisions and other outfits.

Port Discovery is situated near the northwesterly entrance of Admiralty Inlet, 48, 7, N.; a name derived from the ship Discovery, commanded by Vancouver, who first discovered it. It is a fine and commodious harbor, about eight miles in extent, affording from ten to fifty fathom soundings, and a muddy bottom. The entrance is formed by two capes, which are low, and opposite each other, extending in gentle descent from high woodland cliffs, leaving an opening of two and a half miles, directly in front of which is an island, in the form of a crescent, presenting its concave side to the harbor. It is called Protection, from its convenient location for giving protection to the harbor. It is the conviction of all who have witnessed its natural advantages for commerce, that the largest ship, whatever be its tonnage, can sail through De Fuca's Straits, enter Port Discovery, and there moor, and find safety and comfort from the violence of winds and waves. I have given these full descriptions to show the judicious choice I had made of a position for the settlement.

Soon after my return to New England, I announced to the public, through the medium of newspapers, my purpose and programme; and many enterprising and intelligent men of New England, some with families, a sufficient number for a settlement, enlisted for the expedition. But the war of persecution continuing to rage, and the troops about me making daily attacks, and the hireling press again being turned against me, I was forced to abandon that enterprise. It was my intention to take my family to the place of settlement, and to be myself a settler, believing that should my abode be on that side of the continent, far away from persecuting enemies on this side, I could better, I supposed, promote the extension of the Redeemer's Kingdom. But I am now satisfied that it was ordered in Divine Providence, and for my good, that that settlement should not be made by me; that, although the *ideal* "Puget's Sound Agricultural Association" could do nothing, yet the Hudson Bay Company could do much to break up the establishment, and drive me and my friends from the coast.

In regard to the position I had chosen for the settlement and what would be the developments of commerce at that place, Mr. Pierce, of whom I have already spoken, in

reply to inquiries I had made, writes at Honolulu, under date August 4, 1835 :

HALL J. KELLEY, Esq. :

Dear Sir :—Having understood from yourself that you contemplated forming a settlement at Juan de Fuca S'traits, I have, in consequence, and for the information of those who may be concerned with you in such an enterprise, thought it well to state what the market value is here for those articles which will probably be exported from your establishment :

30,000 feet pine, fir or spruce boards and planks, at \$40 per 1000 ; 200 barrels salmon, at \$10 ; 200 barrels flour, at 8 a \$10 ; to which may be added house frames, spars and oak plank and logs for repairing ships. One thousand barrels of flour can be sold every year at St. Peter and Paul, in Kamschatka, at \$10 per barrel.

If a settlement can be formed to good advantage anywhere upon this side of the American territory, it is at the place you have chosen on the south side of Juan de Fuca Straits ; it is in many respects the most eligible—good harbors, easy of access and egress at any time of the year, good climate, excellent soil, plenty of timber, fish and game, and a region abounding with fur animals.

I think favorably of your plan, and shall be glad to facilitate in any way which will be most conducive to the prosperity and success of the settlement.

Very truly yours,

HENRY A. PIERCE.

To bring me into the lowest possible disrepute, and under universal contempt, and to break up this expedition, also, the following abusive notice was taken of me and my enterprise by the publishers of the "Old American Comic Almanac of 1837." In one of its queer cuts was a geographical caricature of a portion of Oregon. On the banks of the Columbia was written "*Rowed up Salt River*," and on the country north, between the cowlitz and the ocean, "*Kelley's Folly*." Twenty thousand copies were said to have been sold.

To apprise my cruel enemies that I was yet alive, and had yet some power left to defend my bleeding character, I published the following in the Boston Post :

UNPROVOKED CRUELTY.

The country with which my name has been so many years associated is represented on the cut, as above, "Kelley's Folly."

It is receiving all the publicity which newspapers, and twenty or a hundred thousand almanacs can give it. Now I am not pleased with being hung up to public ridicule—with having my character defamed, in song, or story, or picture. I have done many things in the Oregon country, whereof I am not ashamed. Though I have acted an important part, and a difficult one too, in its colonization, yet there is no reason for supposing it the theatre of my folly, or for making an attack so brutal upon my reputation. The benevolent and magnificent things which my unaided efforts had brought about, could not have induced it—certainly not. They could harm no one, save the evil-doers living to harm every one. My having thrown down the high walls which the H. B. Co. had built, and for nearly forty years had maintained about the land of Oregon; or, of my having opened, in despite of the mightiest efforts of the most powerful of worldly wise men, that finest portion of our continent, to the harbingers of the blessings of Christianity, are benefits to every body.

I had fallen into the hands of bloody men, and was half killed by them; so that since my return, I have been unable to give the public any account of my perilous adventures; or of my services and achievements in behalf of the country; or of the glorious things beginning to result to the world from the *enterprise* so generally opposed. Enemies seeing this, and other dire misfortunes, take advantage—take courage, and wreak their ruthless vengeance upon me. They seem to infer from my past forbearance, *silence*, and the terrible results of sufferings, that I am a dead man, or nearly so; and am unable to speak in my defence; but I am *alive*, and can speak, and, though feebly, defend my person; and, with my own, defend the injured rights of my countrymen. It may *yet be*, that I can speak *louder* — *yet*, in tones of thunder.

Great difficulties were anticipated in the settling of Oregon: greater on this than on the other side of the continent; opposers started up in the beginning; they increased daily; and, at length, strangers and acquaintances, deceived and duped, united in making common the

work of persecuting him who had dared to break up the *H. B. Company's trading and trapping monopolies in Oregon.*

Here is the end of the book for the present. When it is in the hands of the Congressional Committee, to whom was referred the petition, should my life be spared, and should I remain qualified for the task of further dictation, I shall proceed to prepare the appendix, which, I think, is calculated to be as instructive and interesting to readers as the other portion of the book.

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